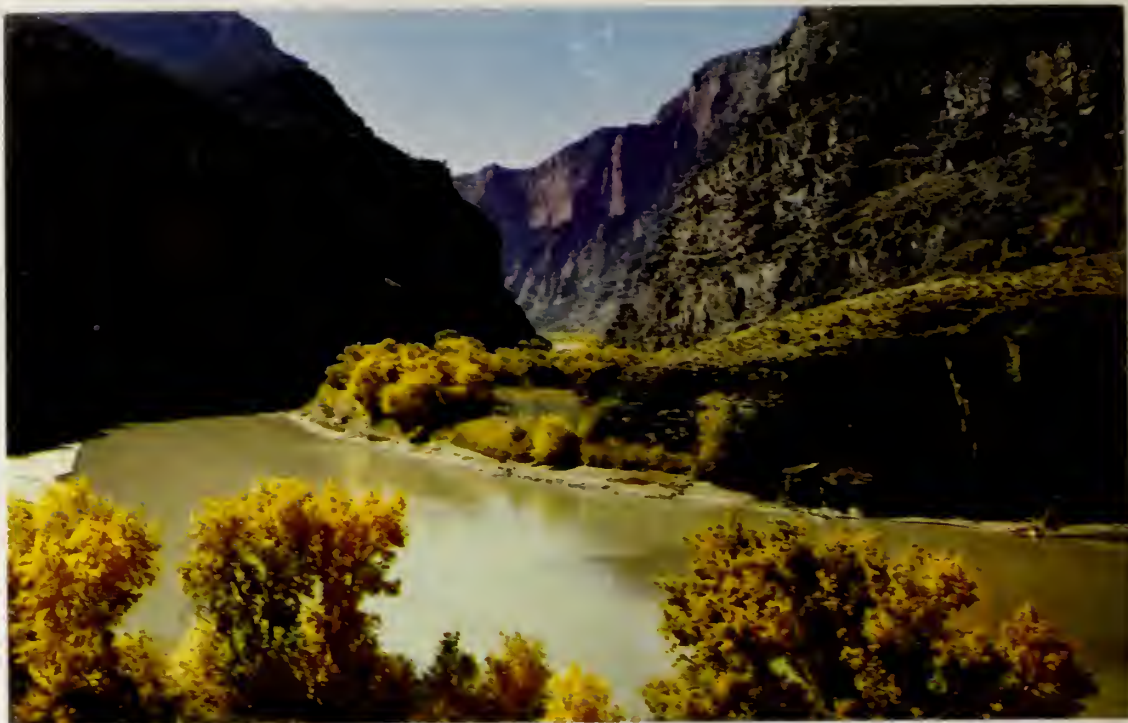


Great Explorers of the West





THE GATES OF LODORE, COLORADO

Here the Green River enters the treacherous canyon that wrecked one of John Wesley Powell's boats in 1869.

Dinosaur Nature Association

Cover - Pike's Peak from U. S. Highway 85.
Colorado State Historical Society.

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XV
Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries
1830-1898

* * * * *

GREAT EXPLORERS OF THE WEST
(subtheme)

1960

United States Department of the Interior
Fred A. Seaton, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director

A. Dean and Jean M. Larsen
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Theme XV
WESTWARD EXPANSION

Subtheme: GREAT EXPLORERS OF THE WEST

Working List

Sites Recommended for Classification of Exceptional Value:

Chinook Point, Washington. Unspoiled landmark at the mouth of the Columbia River that witnessed the unfolding pageant of discovery, exploration, and settlement of this strategic area of the Pacific Northwest. Criteria 1, 2 and 3. No record of previous Advisory Board action.

Pike's Peak, Colorado. For explorers, trappers, and gold seekers, Pike's Peak loomed as the most prominent Rocky Mountain landmark. Pike's attempt to scale it failed, but it took his name and today commemorates his exploits in the West. Criteria 1, 2 and 3. No record of previous Advisory Board action.

Pike's Stockade, Colorado. Faithful reconstruction of the stockade built by the Pike expedition in 1808 and site of Pike's interception by Spanish dragoons from Santa Fe. Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous Advisory Board action.

Fort Atkinson, Nebraska. Replacement of Engineer Cantonment, base for Long's expedition of 1820, Fort Atkinson played host to many prominent explorers and stood as a bastion of the military-Indian frontier of the 1820's. Criterion 1. Disapproved by Advisory Board under Military and Indian Affairs.

South Pass, Wyoming. Discovery of South Pass by the Astorians and Jedediah Smith had enormous influence on the course of western history. Criteria 1 and 3. Approved by Advisory Board under Overland Migrations.

Smith Massacre Site, Oregon. Scene of the Umpqua Indian attack on Jedediah Smith's trapping party in 1828, this is one of the few

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identifiable sites of important happenings in Smith's travels.
Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous Advisory Board action.

Walker Pass, California. Discovered by Joseph Reddeford Walker in 1834, this pass over the Sierra was later used by California-bound emigrants. Criterion 1. No record of previous Advisory Board action.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt$$

for $x \in \mathbb{R}$. It is shown that $f(x)$ is an odd function and that $f(x) \in C^1(\mathbb{R})$. Moreover, it is proved that $f(x)$ is a strictly increasing function and that $f(x) \in C^2(\mathbb{R})$. Finally, it is shown that $f(x)$ is a concave function.

PREFACE

"Great Explorers of the West" is a subtheme of Theme XV, "Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898," of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The National Survey is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey, begun in 1937 under authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 program.

When completed the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of exceptional value that commemorate and illustrate the history of the United States. This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological interpretation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

The purpose of this study is to assemble data on historic sites believed to be of exceptional value in commemorating or illustrating the history of western exploration. It early became apparent that the historical theme of Westward Expansion was too vast to be adequately treated within a single study. The theme was therefore divided



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into 11 separate subthemes, of which "Great Explorers of the West" is one.

Part I is a narrative treatment of the theme, designed not as a definitive study but as a brief summary from which the general reader may obtain an over-all view of the subject. Part II evaluates sites believed to possess exceptional value in illustrating or commemorating the theme, together with brief descriptions of sites of importance but not of exceptional value. The study was prepared by historians of the National Park Service, who in 1959 and 1960 visited each of the sites treated. Robert M. Utley, Region Three Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico, served as coordinating historian and wrote the historical narrative. Charles Snell, Region Four Office, San Francisco, California, was contributing historian. Mrs. Mary B. Huey, cartographic draftsman in the Region Three Office, prepared the maps.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo Leland, American Historical Association; Dr. S. K. Stevens, American Association for State and Local History; Dr. Louis Wright, Folger Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard Howland, National Trust for Historic Preservation; Mr. Eric Gugler, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains; and Mr. Frederick Johnson, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology.

The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study that follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian, Branch of History, and of Daniel B. Beard, Chief, Division of Interpretation, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work of the National Survey profits from the experience and knowledge of many persons and organizations. Every effort is made to solicit the considered opinion of as many qualified people as possible in reaching final selection of the most significant sites. Assistance in the preparation of this study from the following is acknowledged:

Dr. William H. Goetzmann, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Mr. A. P. Muntz, Acting Archivist in Charge, Cartographic Branch, National Archives, Washington; Dr. Carl H. Chapman, Director of American Archeology, University of Missouri, Columbia; Mr. Marvin F. Kivett, Museum Director, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; Mrs. Alys Freeze, Head, Western History Department, Denver Public Library; Mr. Maurice Frink, Executive Director, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver; Mr. Michael Kennedy, Director, Montana State Historical Society, Helena; Mrs. Clara S. Beatty, Director, Nevada State Historical Society, Reno; Mr. Albert Culverwell, Historian, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Olympia; Dr. Aubrey Neasham and Mr. Jack Dyson, Historians, California Division of Beaches and Parks, Sacramento; Mr. Thomas Vaughan, Director, Oregon Historical Society, Portland; Dr. H. J. Swinney, Director, and Mr. Merle Wells, Historian, Idaho Historical Society, Boise; Arthur Woodward, Altadena, Calif.; Mr. William C. Everhart, Historian, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis, Mo.

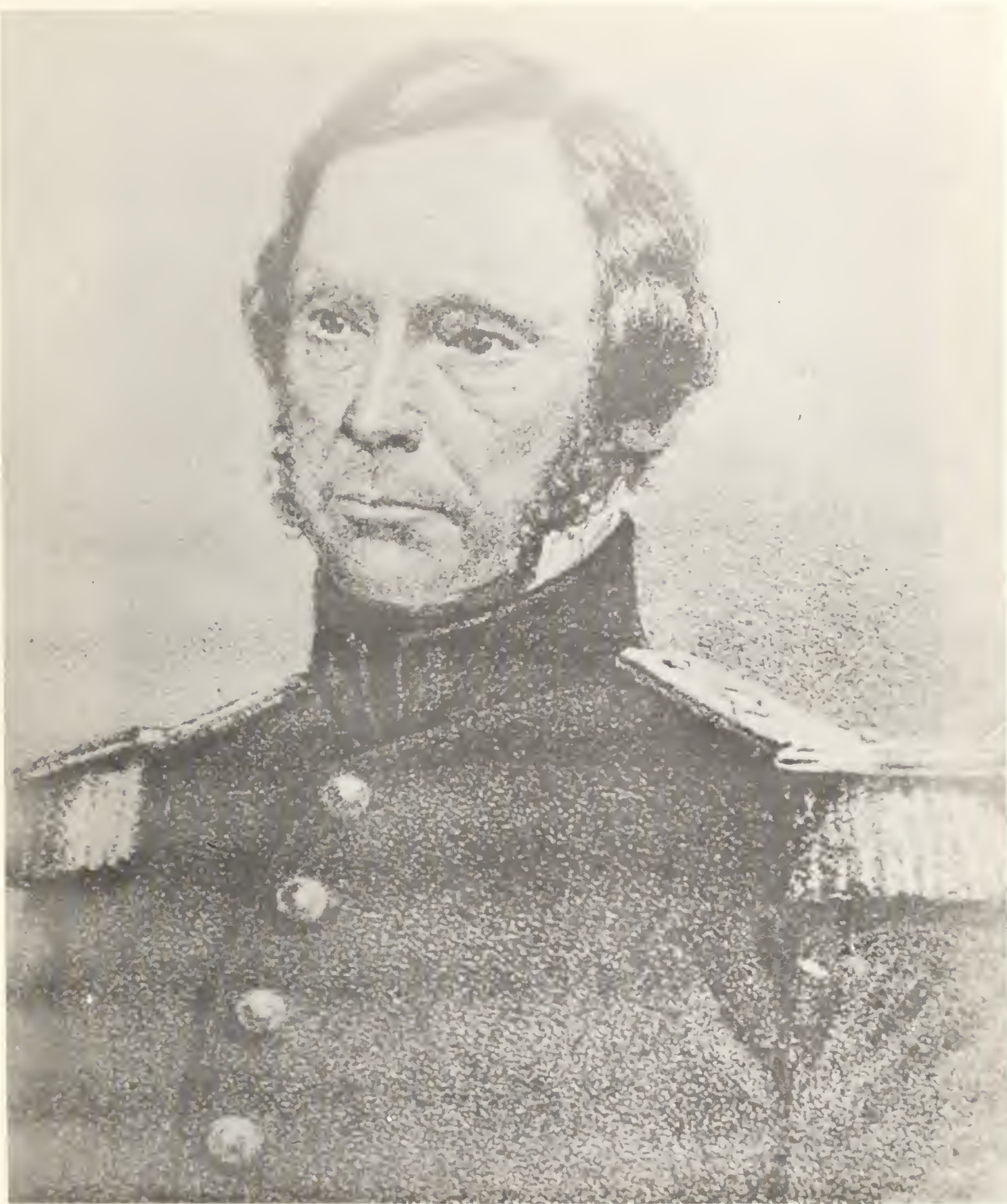
The Mountain Man explored the West, but it remained to the Army topographers who followed to make his knowledge known to the world.

National Park Service
Drawing by Stolz





ZEBULON M. PIKE



STEPHEN H. LONG



JOHN C. FRÉMONT



JOHN WESLEY POWELL

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Part I

A SUMMARY OF THE THEME

To the world of 1800, the maps of western America told much about the state of geographical knowledge. The cartographer sketched in the Pacific Coast with confidence if not complete accuracy, and worked north from Mexico City as far as the Rio Grande and the Gila before growing unsure of himself. In the great void stretching north into Canada and east from the coast to the Missouri River, he had nothing to place except a few mythical features that leading geographers assumed to exist. Even with these delineated, there remained great blank spaces that the map maker could not resist filling with wholly imaginary lakes, rivers, and mountains.

For what he could confidently represent, the cartographer owed much to Spanish explorers. Beginning with Coronado in 1541-42, they had contributed most of the data on the Trans-Mississippi West.¹ A map compiled in 1601 depicted the Rio Grande and Don Juan de Oñate's route to the Great Plains in search of Quivira. The travels of Father Eusebio Kino in Pimería Alta early in the 18th century and of Juan Bautista de Anza late in the century extended coverage west through the Gila country to the Pacific. Father Francisco Garcés carried mapping north to the Grand Canyon and the Hopi country in 1777; Bernardo Miera, cartographer for the Escalante expedition of 1776, still farther north, to the southern reaches

1. Theme IV, "Spanish Exploration and Settlement," deals with this phase of the history of exploration.

of the Great Basin; and Anza in 1779 to the southern Rockies near the headwaters of the Arkansas. Baron Alexander von Humboldt pulled together the fruits of two centuries of Spanish exploration and in 1811 published a map of New Spain that reflected the sum of Spanish cartographic achievement. The Southwest of today is recognizable but hardly accurate, and to the north is the fantasy that represented the best speculative thought of the time.

French trappers and traders, moving from the East, probed tentatively at the fringes of the Great Plains, and the Verendryes pushed as far west as the Black Hills of Dakota. To the south, Louis St. Denis crossed Texas to the Spanish fort of Presidio San Juan Bautista, on the Rio Grande. But the French did not prosecute their explorations with much vigor, and, except for St. Denis, made almost no addition to the sum of geographical knowledge.²

Both British and American navigators made possible the mapping of the Pacific Coast of North America. An English captain, James Cook, sought the legendary Northwest Passage on the Oregon Coast in 1778. He failed in his quest, but his reports of abundant sea otter drew many of his countrymen to the Northwest. Another Englishman, Capt. George Vancouver, in 1792 mapped the coast all the way from San Diego to Alaska. Also in search of commercial opportunity, Capt. Robert Gray, sailing under the new American flag,

2. See Theme V, "French Exploration and Settlement," for treatment of the French story.

touched Oregon in 1788-89 during a circumnavigation of the globe. He returned in 1791 to trade with the coastal Indians. Sighting what appeared to be a fine harbor, he fought for 11 days to cross the treacherous bar. Finally succeeding, he discovered not a bay but the mouth of a great river, which he named after his ship, the Columbia. By the close of the 18th century, both England and the United States had a strong claim to the Oregon country, and had already begun the bitter dispute over possession that lasted until 1846.

Between the Oregon Coast and the Mississippi River, the map of half a continent remained a product of imagination when Thomas Jefferson became President of the United States in 1801. At the moment France claimed the greater part under the name of Louisiana. With rare vision, Jefferson in 1803 seized the opportunity to buy the French possession from Napoleon Bonaparte. The conquest of this wilderness was to absorb much of the energies of the American people during the 19th century, and Jefferson, long curious about what lay beyond the frontier of geographical knowledge, promptly set the process in motion by assuming for the United States Government the obligation to explore Louisiana.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was the first major exploration of the American West, and in historical significance towers above all that followed.³ Directed by Jefferson to explore the Missouri

3. Because a special study of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings treats the Lewis and Clark expedition in detail, it is only briefly mentioned here.

River and its principal tributaries, and to find an eligible passage from its headwaters to the Pacific, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark left St. Louis in May 1804 and were back by September 1806. They had explored the Missouri and Yellowstone Valleys and the Columbia Basin. They had twice surmounted the spine of the continent and in the process discovered five different passes through the mountains. They had shown the great breadth of the continent, mapped with fair accuracy their route through six different physical regions, and described in detail the relief, drainage, climate, vegetation, zoology, and anthropology of each.

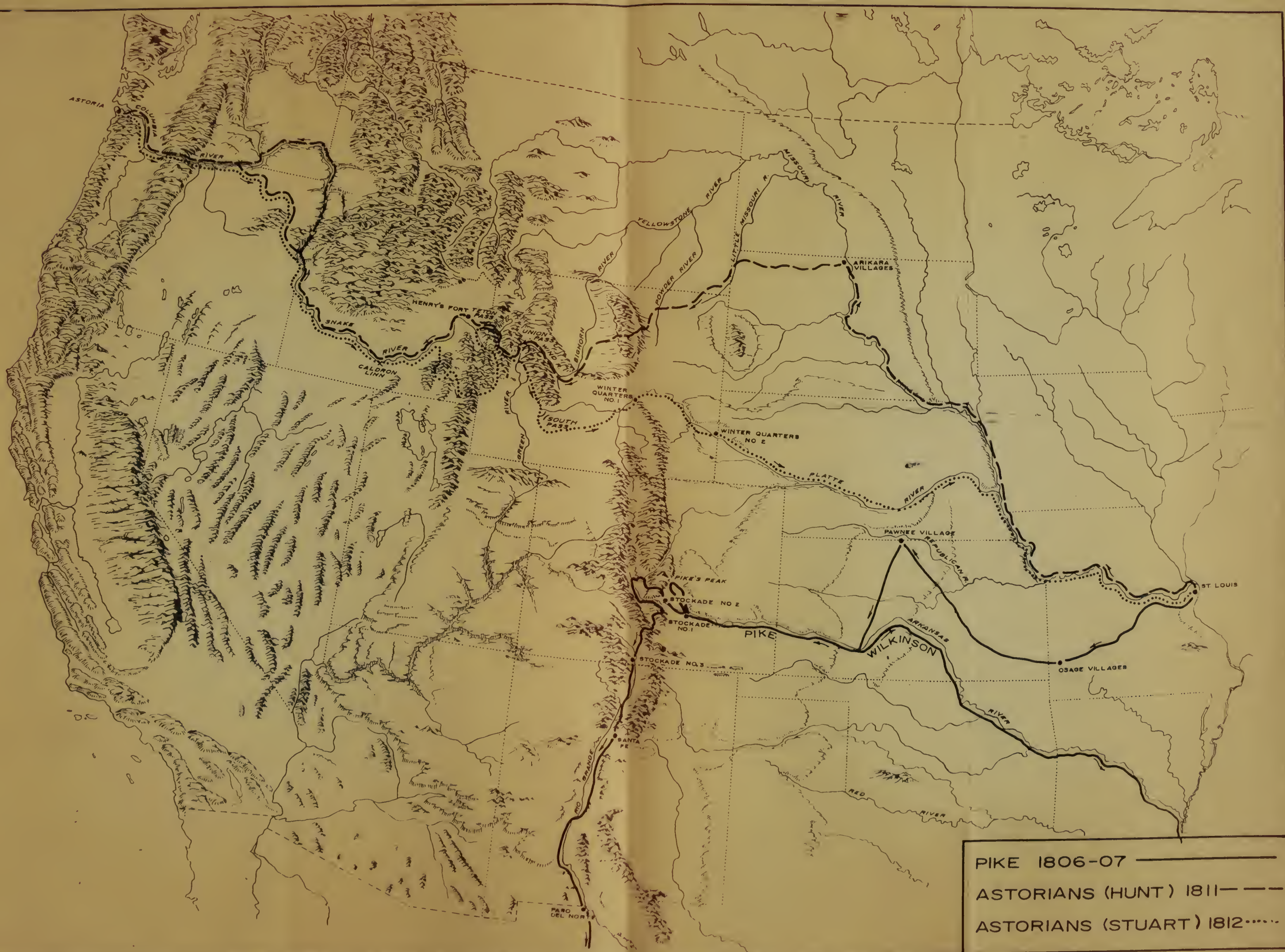
Other explorers immediately faced west. During the next six decades, their labors enabled cartographers progressively to widen the narrow band of reality that Lewis and Clark had sketched across the map of the continent.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike

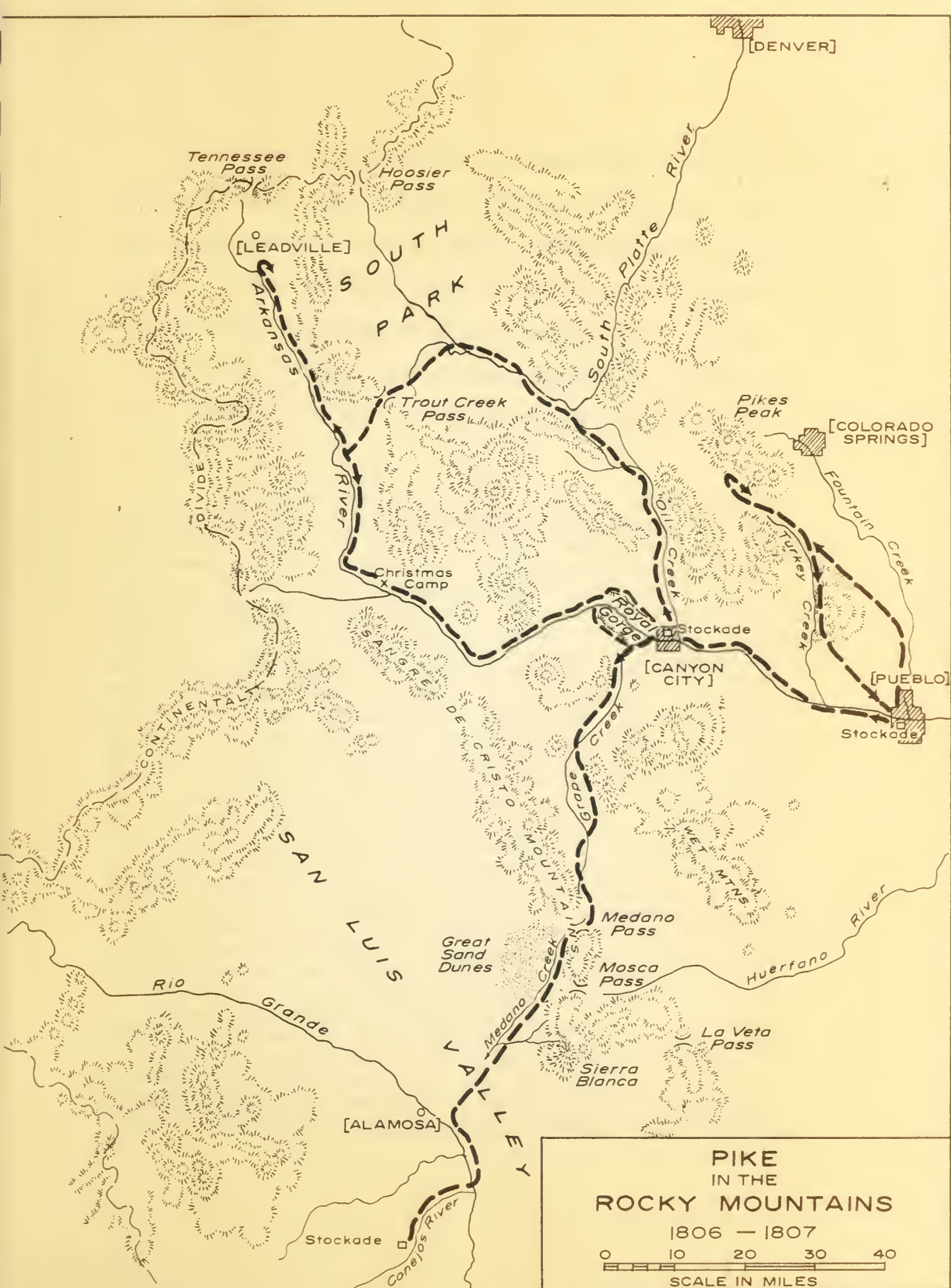
The purchase of Louisiana led to other official explorations. In 1804-1805 William Dunbar and George Hunter, at Jefferson's instigation, made a scientific reconnaissance of the Ouachita River; and in 1806 Thomas Freeman set forth to investigate the Red River, that enigmatic stream whose source was to remain so long a puzzle, only to have his plans frustrated at the start by Spanish troops. As Lewis and Clark descended the Missouri another party headed west under orders from the military commander in the Southwest, Gen. James Wilkinson.

Lt. Zebulon M. Pike had just returned from exploring the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Now he carried written orders from the General to return a group of Osage Indian captives to their homes in southwestern Missouri, and to continue to the plains for the purpose of making peace between the Kansas and the Osage Indians and, later, the Pawnees and the Comanches. In the latter task Wilkinson expected that Pike would find himself "approximated" to the Spanish possessions, where he must conduct himself "with great circumspection." With these instructions in his pocket and perhaps more in his mind, Pike and 22 men, including the General's son, Lt. James B. Wilkinson, and a civilian surgeon, Dr. John H. Robinson, embarked on the Missouri at Belle Fontaine on July 15, 1806.

At the Grand Osage Villages Pike carried out his first mission and, exchanging boats for horses, turned northwest across the prairies of Kansas to the upper reaches of the Republican River. At the Pawnee Village he raised the American flag for the first time over the Great Plains, and conferred at length with the tribal leaders. They told of a recent visit by Spanish soldiers. In fact, Lt. Don Facundo Malgares and 600 dragoons out of Santa Fe were even then searching for the Americans. Marching south to the Arkansas, Pike divided his small party. Lieutenant Wilkinson and five men, bearing dispatches for the General, descended the river by boat. With the remaining 16 men (one having deserted), Pike himself turned west and followed the Arkansas (and the trail of Malgares) all the way to the "Mexican Mountains."



PIKE 1806-07 ———
ASTORIANS (HUNT) 1811 - - -
ASTORIANS (STUART) 1812
ST. LOUIS



Clothed and equipped more for a summer outing than for a midwinter contest with the Rocky Mountains, the explorers spent three months, November through January, wandering among the peaks and parks of the southern Rockies--thus providing ample material for speculation and debate among later historians over motives and intentions.⁴ From a rude stockade thrown up on the site of Pueblo, Pike tried to scale the "highest peak" that later bore

4. Despite the manful efforts of Archer B. Hulbert to rescue Pike from the shadow of the Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy, the judgment of history still holds the Lieutenant vaguely suspect. Although no documentary evidence links him personally to the treason of Wilkinson, Elliott Coues convincingly argued that Pike's real objectives surely went beyond the ostensible ones. He maneuvered to fall into Spanish hands in order to learn as much as possible about the Spanish Southwest. The transparent device of mistaking the headwaters of the Rio Grande for those of the Red, 300 miles to the southeast, accomplished precisely what was intended, although it may well have been "the particular accident of a general design." Hulbert has argued, with equal cogence if surpassing belligerence, that Pike had no secret instructions, that motives of geographical discovery guided his course in the Rockies, and that he actually did mistake the Rio Grande (as well as, earlier, the Arkansas) for the Red River. Hulbert agrees that, once having reached the San Luis Valley, Pike intended to be intercepted by the Spanish, but only because they offered the sole means of saving his starving, freezing command from complete disaster. In truth, even if Pike was a spy, he was not necessarily a party to the traitorous schemes of "the tarnished warrior." Given the precarious relations between Spain and the United States, the collection of intelligence about New Mexico served the national interests of the United States as well as the personal interests of General Wilkinson. Coues and all reputable historians, viewing the high personal honor and intense patriotism that characterized Pike's entire career, exonerate him of knowing complicity in the Burr-Wilkinson plot. See especially Elliott Coues (ed.) The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike (3 v., New York, 1895); and Stephen H. Hart and Archer B. Hulbert (eds.), Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal (Denver, 1932).

his name, but turned back far short of the goal. Upstream, at the mouth of Royal Gorge, he turned north and examined South Park. Then he crossed to the headwaters of the Arkansas, which he took for the elusive Red until its course brought the explorers, with "great mortification," once more to Royal Gorge.

They now found themselves in precarious straits. The horses had played out, and the men suffered from fatigue, snow, cold, and short rations. Pike decided to strike south on the trail of Malgares. Building another stockade, he left two men with much of the baggage and on January 14, 1807, set forth to assault the forbidding Sangre de Cristo Range at a season of the year that would give pause to the most resourceful mountaineer. In Wet Mountain Valley two men sat down with frozen feet to wait until they could be sent for. The rest ascended the rampart and dropped into the San Luis Valley by way of the Great Sand Dunes.

Pike had now reached the upper Rio Grande, but professed to believe, again, that he had found the Red. West of the river, on the north bank of the Conejos, he built a formidable log stockade and hoisted the American flag. Two men went back for those who had been left behind, and Doctor Robinson started for Santa Fe. His purpose, thinly veiled by a commission from an Illinois merchant to collect a bad debt, was to let the Spaniards know that Pike awaited capture. On February 26 Spanish dragoons rode up

to the stockade. After an interesting little dialogue ("What, is not this the Red River?" "No, Sir! the Rio del Norte."), Pike lowered the flag and accepted the politely firm invitation to come to Santa Fe. From the New Mexican capital, the Americans were shunted south to Chihuahua, and ultimately, after many adventures, escorted across Texas and released at Nacogdoches on June 24, 1807.

After entering New Mexico Pike ceased to be an explorer in the strict meaning of the term. But in a broader sense he performed more notable exploratory service than he had in the Rocky Mountains. For the first time Americans saw, through the eyes of Pike, something of what lay behind the rigid frontier barriers erected by Spain. The origins of the Santa Fe trade and American emigration to Texas, so momentous in influencing the course of United States history, may be traced in large part to ideas that began germinating when Pike's narrative was published in 1810.

This narrative, pieced together from a few notes saved from the Spanish, made important geographical contributions as well. Unhappily, it also perpetuated one of the most persistent geographical fallacies in western history. On his map Pike depicted the Yellowstone River rising in the southern Rockies, and in his text he confirmed the popular notion of a great mountain reservoir in which the major river systems of the West found a common source.

"I have no hesitation," he wrote, "in asserting that I can take a position in the mountains from which I can visit the source of any of those rivers in one day." Despite this misfortune, however, Pike did a truly significant service by giving to the world, four years before publication of the Lewis and Clark journals, its first glimpse based on direct observation of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains.

John Colter

One of the earliest fur trappers to leave a record of significant original exploration--and that of the very barest sort--was John Colter. Member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, he had taken leave of the captains as they descended the Missouri, and had cast his lot with two trappers destined for the upper river. Later he joined Manuel Lisa's fur brigade, which in 1807 built Fort Raymond, or Manuel's Fort, at the junction of the Bighorn and Yellowstone Rivers. From this base Colter undertook an incredible winter journey that carried him to the strategic valleys at the sources of Yellowstone and Snake Rivers and through some of the spectacular country now embraced by the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park.

The principal evidence of Colter's journey exists on the map of Lewis and Clark, which in this region, unseen by them, bears only slight resemblance to topographical reality. Working from the dotted line captioned "Colter's Route in 1807," plus

a few tantalizing shreds of evidence mined from other sources, historians have for years disputed the exact route of Colter. The latest investigator, Burton Harris, has pieced together a reconstruction that seems destined to stand the test of further searching inquiry.⁵

Colter's mission was to spread word among the Crows of the new trading post at the mouth of the Bighorn. Carrying a 30-pound pack, he faced southwest late in 1807, skirted the northern point of the Bighorn Mountains, and crossed the Bighorn Basin to the foot of the Absaroka Range. In Shoshone Canyon just west of present Cody, Wyoming, he came upon a region of terrifying thermal activity. Later, Colter vividly described to fellow trappers the spurting geysers, bubbling mud pots, steaming pools, and pervading odor of rotten eggs given off by sulphur springs; and "Colter's Hell" became firmly fixed in the mountain man's image of the West. Translating the Indian term for the river, they styled it the Stinking Water, but more fastidious geographers later renamed it the Shoshone.⁶

5. John Colter; His Years in the Rockies (New York, 1952).

6. Through the instrumentality of the historian H. M. Chittenden (The Yellowstone National Park), Colter's Hell became confused in popular thought with the great geysers of Yellowstone Park's Norris Basin, which Colter almost certainly did not see. The true Colter's Hell, whose correct location was universally recognized in the mountain man's West, is no longer thermally active, and lies in part beneath the waters of artificial Shoshone Lake.

Following south along the base of the Absarokas, Colter ascended Wind River and dropped into Jackson Hole. He surmounted the Tetons through Teton Pass, and after examining Pierre's Hole returned to Jackson Hole. He then turned north along the base of the Teton Range and, picking his way through a topographical maze in snow up to 15 feet deep, saw to the east Jackson Lake and, farther along, the West Thumb of Yellowstone Lake. Now hurrying to reach the comforts of Fort Raymond, Colter missed the geysers of Norris Basin on the west and did not pause to investigate the enormous canyon and falls of the Yellowstone River that surely suggested their presence on the east. He crossed the Yellowstone in the vicinity of Tower Falls and followed a difficult Indian trail that wound among the peaks of the Absarokas back to Colter's Hell. From here he descended the Stinking Water (Shoshone) to the Bighorn, avoided Bighorn Canyon by skirting the mountains on the north, and at last reached Fort Raymond sometime in late spring of 1808.

With the occasional help of an Indian guide, Colter had thus explored some of the most beautiful, rugged, and bewildering geography on the North American continent--and in mid-winter. He had become the first recorded white man to see Jackson and Yellowstone Lakes, and the two "holes," Jackson and Pierre's, that later formed the heartland of the fur trade. Through association with William Clark, he helped in a small way to

dispel some of the geographical confusion that surrounded this region. Could the sum of his knowledge have been accurately transferred to a map, he would doubtless have advanced western cartography by a generation.

The Overland Astorians

The fur trappers sought beaver, not geographical discovery. But beaver resided largely in unexplored country, and to find them trappers must also become explorers. Thus each new fur-gathering enterprise in the early years yielded as an important byproduct the discovery and exploration of wilderness recesses yet unseen by white men. So Colter's findings had formed a significant part of Manuel Lisa's undertaking. And so the two transcontinental journeys of the Overland Astorians, episodes of John Jacob Astor's move to extend his vast fur empire to the Pacific Northwest, opened still further the door unlocked by Lewis and Clark.

The nerve-center of Astor's operations, Astoria, was to rise at the mouth of the Columbia. Two expeditions set forth, one by sea, the other by land, in the spring of 1811. The overland contingent left St. Louis in March under leadership of Wilson Price Hunt. At the Arikara Villages a Blackfoot scare induced Hunt to abandon his keelboats (as well as the route of Lewis and Clark) and on horseback turn directly west. Without serious mishap his 64 followers, including an Indian woman and two children, crossed the Bighorn Mountains near Cloud Peak, made their way up Wind River, dropped into the valley of Upper Green River by way

Union Pass, and crossed the Tetons through Teton Pass to Pierre's Hole. October found them on Henry's Fork of the Snake River, at the deserted post built a year earlier by Andrew Henry.

Here the canoe psychology--the aversion to land travel inherited from French trappers--asserted itself. Hoping to float down the Snake and the Columbia to Astoria, Hunt set his men to fashioning canoes from cottonwood logs. Leaving the horses with two Snake Indians, they embarked on October 19. Nine days later the folly of the decision became tragically apparent. The boiling waters of Caldron Linn wrecked five boats and drowned one of the men. Reconnaissance revealed the impossibility of continuing by canoe, and the party found itself afoot in the mountains with reduced food supplies and winter fast approaching. After an unsuccessful attempt to return for the horses, Hunt cached the provisions at Caldron Linn and started on foot down the Snake. Ramsay Crooks took part of the group, Hunt the rest. Both detachments, enduring many hardships, particularly in the Blue Mountains, made their way independently to Astoria. Crooks reached the destination on January 18, 1812, Hunt nearly a month later, on February 15.

Despite a series of costly misfortunes, work on Astoria had got underway. By summer Astor's men had started to challenge the supremacy of the British North West Company. Already, outbreak of the War of 1812 had doomed Astoria, but word had not reached the outpost on the Columbia when Robert Stuart set forth in July to carry dispatches to Astor in New York. He and five men retraced

Hunt's course as far as Caldron Linn, where they found Hunt's caches opened and plundered. Four more men, members of Hunt's party who had remained in the mountains to spend the winter trapping, had joined Stuart early in the journey. At Caldron Linn three left for another try at trapping. The fourth, Joseph Miller, stayed with Stuart. The group now numbered seven.⁷ Guided by Miller, who presumably knew his way around, they left the river and turned south. For over a month they wandered about the mountains in confusion, lost their horses to a Crow raiding party, and, again reaching the Snake, actually traveled down the stream for a way before regaining their bearings. "These bewildered overlanders," remarked H. M. Chittenden, had "forgotten that the sun rises in the east."⁸

Crossing Teton Pass into Jackson Hole, Stuart picked up an Indian trail running southeast, followed it to the upper reaches of the Sweetwater, and turned east over the Continental Divide very near South Pass. It was now the end of October, and Stuart established winter quarters on the North Platte below the mouth of the Sweetwater. A month later some Arapahoes happened by, and though professedly friendly still made the site uncomfortable.

7. The original party consisted of Robert Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McLellan, Benjamin Jones, Francois Leclair, and André Vallée. The other four were John Hoback, Edward Robinson, Jacob Reznor, and Joseph Miller, of whom only Miller remained with Stuart.

8. The American Fur Trade of the Far West (2v., Academic Reprints, Stanford, 1954), I, 209.

Moving on down the Platte, the Astorians selected another site, and remained in camp until March 8 building canoes in which to float down the river come spring. The Platte promptly demonstrated, as it did to all would-be navigators who followed, that it was not meant for boating. The party therefore hiked the rest of the way down the Platte, took to water upon reaching the Missouri, and arrived at St. Louis on April 30, 1813.

Rivaling the Lewis and Clark expedition in magnitude of undertaking, the two journeys of the Overland Astorians in fact spanned an unknown wilderness comparable to that explored by Lewis and Clark. The Astorians made the second and third transcontinental crossings within present United States, discovered Union Pass, were the first recorded white men to visit the upper Green River, and were the first white men to explore the lower Snake. They helped to lay the foundation of the American claim to Oregon, and pioneered the route by which thousands of emigrants made their way to Oregon 30 years later. And if they did not actually traverse South Pass, they still revealed the strategic gateway that proved the most eligible of all passages through the Rocky Mountains.

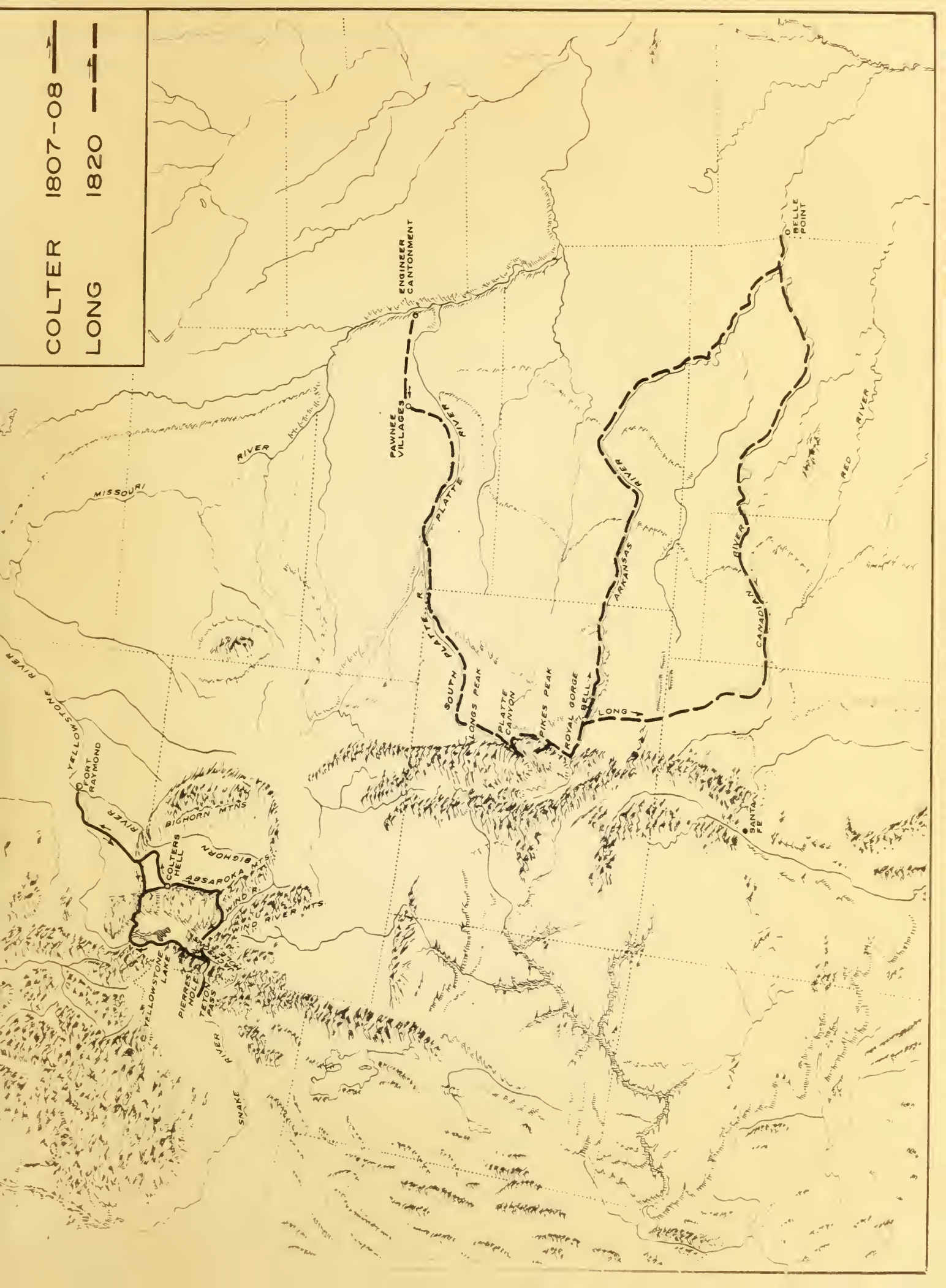
Yet, while keeping an eye cocked for likely beaver streams, the Astorians were more intent upon reaching their destination than upon mapping and scientifically recording the character of the land. Their findings, imprecisely chronicled and fragmentally published, aroused a brief flurry of public interest and were promptly forgotten. Even the place names fixed to their discoveries

COLTER

1807-08

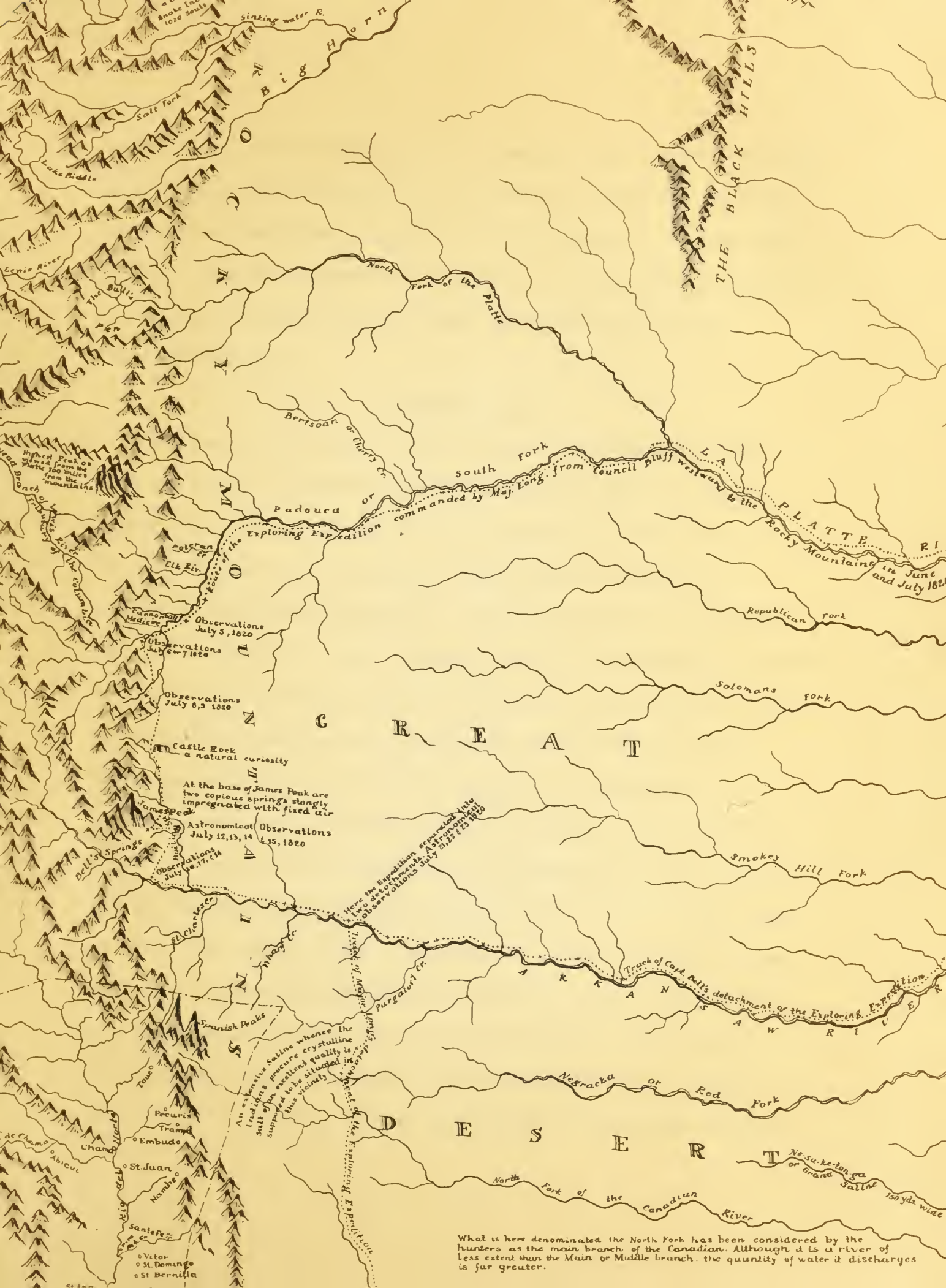
LONG

1820



JOHN C. CALHOUN
 THIS MAP OF THE
 COUNTRY SITUATED BETWEEN THE MERIDIAN OF
 WASHINGTON CITY and the ROCKY MOUNTAINS
 exhibiting the route of the late Exploring Expedition commanded by Maj. Z
 Long. together with other recent surveys and explorations by himself & others
 is most respectfully inscribed, by his most obedient and humble servant

S. H. Long Major. U.S. Topl Engineers



What is here denominated the North Fork has been considered by the hunters as the main branch of the Canadian. Although it is a river of less extent than the Main or Middle branch, the quantity of water it discharges is far greater.

came unglued, for the trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company who later ranged the country explored by the Astorians enjoyed an influential cartographic spokesman in London's Aaron Arrowsmith. In the final analysis, the most important consequence of the Astorian expeditions was a superb adventure story written three decades later by Washington Irving.

Stephen H. Long

The Long expedition of 1820 expressed a growing conviction that the Federal Government should assume responsibility for exploring and opening the West. As if to make up for an official interest dormant since Jefferson's day, Congress authorized a project of truly grand dimensions. With a formidable, elaborately equipped command, Col. Henry Atkinson intended, by founding a string of forts on the Upper Missouri, to protect the burgeoning fur trade, to control the Indians, and to offset alleged British influence among the tribes. Maj. Stephen H. Long led a contingent of scientists who were to gather information of every kind about the country. Enjoying wide publicity and inspiring great expectations, the Yellowstone Expedition got under way in the fall of 1818. But at each turn, though Atkinson was an able soldier, it suffered bad luck and conspicuous mismanagement; almost two years later it had not ascended the Missouri beyond Council Bluffs. A thoroughly disillusioned Congress declined further appropriations. Making the best of a bad thing, the War Department in the spring of 1820

ordered Major Long and the scientific detachment to the Rocky Mountains in search of the sources of the Platte and Red Rivers.

With 20 men Long struck west from Council Bluffs on June 6, 1820.⁹ After conferring with the Pawnees on the Loup River and recruiting two Frenchmen as hunters, he dropped down to the Platte and followed it west to the front range of the Rockies. In notable contrast to Pike, Long let the mountains intimidate him. Exploring parties attempted to ascend the two gorges by which the mountain rampart releases the South Platte and the Arkansas to the plains, but judged the obstacles too formidable. Dr. James succeeded in surmounting Pike's "highest peak." Long named it James Peak in honor of the achievement, but later generations preferred Pike's Peak. Dividing the group, the Major sent part down the Arkansas under Captain Bell, while he continued south in search of the source of Red River. Reaching a stream supposed to be the Red, he descended it, only to discover, upon arriving at the Arkansas, that it was the Canadian. Long's division turned down the Arkansas, and on September 1 united with Bell's division at Fort Smith.

Even though Long could plead inadequate equipment, he turned in a rather sorry performance. He had not found the sources of

9. Long's party had wintered at "Engineer Cantonment," the rest of the Yellowstone Expedition at nearby "Camp Missouri." The permanent post of Fort Atkinson soon replaced both. Long's technicians were Capt. J. R. Bell, journalist; Lt. W. H. Swift, topographer; Thomas Say, zoologist; Dr. Edwin James, botanist, geologist, and surgeon; Titian Peale, naturalist; and Samuel Seymour, landscape painter.



S. Seymour delin.

F. Kearney sculp.

View of the Rocky Mountains on the Platte 50 miles from their Base.

"View of the Rocky Mountains on the Platte 50 miles from their Base," by Samuel Seymour, artist for the Long Expedition of 1820.

Denver Public Library Western Collection



"View of the Chasm through Which the Platte Issues from the Rocky Mountains," by Samuel Seymour
artist for the Long Expedition of 1820.



Published by H. C. Carey & Co. 1877

"View of the Insulated Table Lands at the Foot of the Rocky Mountains," by Samuel Seymour.
Long Expedition of 1820 in foreground.

the Platte and Red. Mountains and canyons that Pike had conquered in mid-winter daunted Long in mid-summer. Even had the Canadian been the Red, Long still did not go to its source, a strange omission indeed in view of the long-standing mystery about the source of the Red. Both Long and Bell, moreover, entirely overlooked a number of important topographical features, including the Cimarron River. The only creditable geographical accomplishments were the discovery of the great peak that now bears Long's name and the exploration of the Canadian River. Somewhat offsetting this disappointing record, the scientists returned with exhaustive notes that made a significant contribution to knowledge of the ethnology and natural history of the country.

The map drawn by Long must also be listed to his credit. Carl Wheat calls it a "mother map" that influenced a generation of cartographers. Despite its grotesque delineations west of the front range, he says, it "cleared up a number of geographical errors, chief of which was the erroneous course of the Red River. The Canadian was now known as an affluent of the Arkansas. And the mid-mountain country of the easterly front wall of the Rockies was now correctly mapped from Long's Peak to the Spanish Peaks, with all the country to the east correctly shown."¹⁰

Perhaps the most consequential result of the Long expedition lay in the Major's characterization of the High Plains country.

10. Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540-1861 (San Francisco, 1957-59), II, 81.

"Great Desert" he captioned it on the map, and wrote, "I do not hesitate in giving the opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence." From Long's "mother map," the "Great American Desert" label found its way into countless school geographies, and shaped in the mind of the average American an image of the plains that profoundly influenced attitudes and policies for half a century.¹¹

Peter Skene Ogden and the British Trappers

Although the Astorians had traveled the entire length of the Snake River in 1811 and 1812, they learned little about the complex jumble of mountains drained by its tributaries. Rich in beaver, this wilderness soon attracted the enterprising officers of the British North West Company, which was destined to be absorbed in 1821 by the Hudson's Bay Company. Organized into self-sustaining fur brigades, operating from posts such as Flathead House, Fort Nez Perce, and Fort Vancouver, the Company trappers wandered from one beaver stream to the next, and in the process explored much of the present states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana, and northern Utah and Nevada as well.

11. Although experience has shown the Great Plains to be after all habitable by a people dependent upon agriculture, in fairness to Long (and to Pike, who uttered like sentiments), it should be pointed out that the country could not be made to support a population using the methods and tools of the time. It took such technological advances as irrigation, windmills, and railroads to open the plains to settlement. As Walter Prescott Webb observed, "Not a desert, perhaps, but perilously close to it!"

Between 1819 and 1830 there were 10 "Snake Country Expeditions," of which five penetrated significant stretches of virgin country. As brigade leaders Donald Mackenzie (once an Astorian), Alexander Ross, and John Work did important service, but the able Peter Skene Ogden ranks as the most widely traveled of all the British trappers. His first expedition, in 1824¹⁸²⁵, took him south from Flathead House to Bear ~~Lake~~^{River}, thence ~~down Bear River~~^{south} to the ~~Great Salt Lake~~^{Snake River}.¹² In subsequent journeys he and his men were the first whites to range the country around southern Oregon's Klamath, Malheur, and Harney Lakes, and the heads of the Deschutes and John Day Rivers; and the first to cross the Great Basin from the Salt Lake to the Sierra by way of the Humboldt River, which for years thereafter bore the name Ogden's River.

By the close of the decade of the 1820's the Hudson's Bay Company trappers, and above all Peter Skene Ogden, carried in their minds an accurate map of the Northwest. A rarity in the discovery annals of the fur trade, much of their knowledge found its way onto an Arrowsmith map of 1834. This map, states Carl Wheat, reflected what Ogden had learned during his six years in the American West.¹³

12. Identity of the first white man to view Great Salt Lake is still a matter of dispute. Ogden reached the lake in the spring of 1825, but strong evidence indicates that Jim Bridger stood on its shores in the autumn of 1824. Etienne Provost may have seen it earlier in 1824, but his case is weak. Of the three, most historians favor Bridger.

13. Mapping the Transmississippi West, II, 146.

Harrison C. Dale summed up the geographical contributions of the British trappers:

The net result of the operations of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies in the Columbia and interior basin areas was, first, a detailed exploration of the country lying between the route of Lewis and Clark and that of the overland Astorians; second, the penetration and criss-crossing of that vast triangle formed by the two forks of the Columbia with the Cordilleras. South and west of Snake river McKenzie and Ross had pushed into the interior basin, to be followed a few years later by Ogden. To the west and southwest McDonald, McKay, and Ogden penetrated from the Great Salt Lake across the deserts of southern Oregon and northern Nevada into the Sierras of the north Pacific, crossing to the headwaters of the Sacramento, the Klamath, and Rogue rivers, streams within the Pacific drainage.¹⁴

Jedediah Smith and the American Trappers

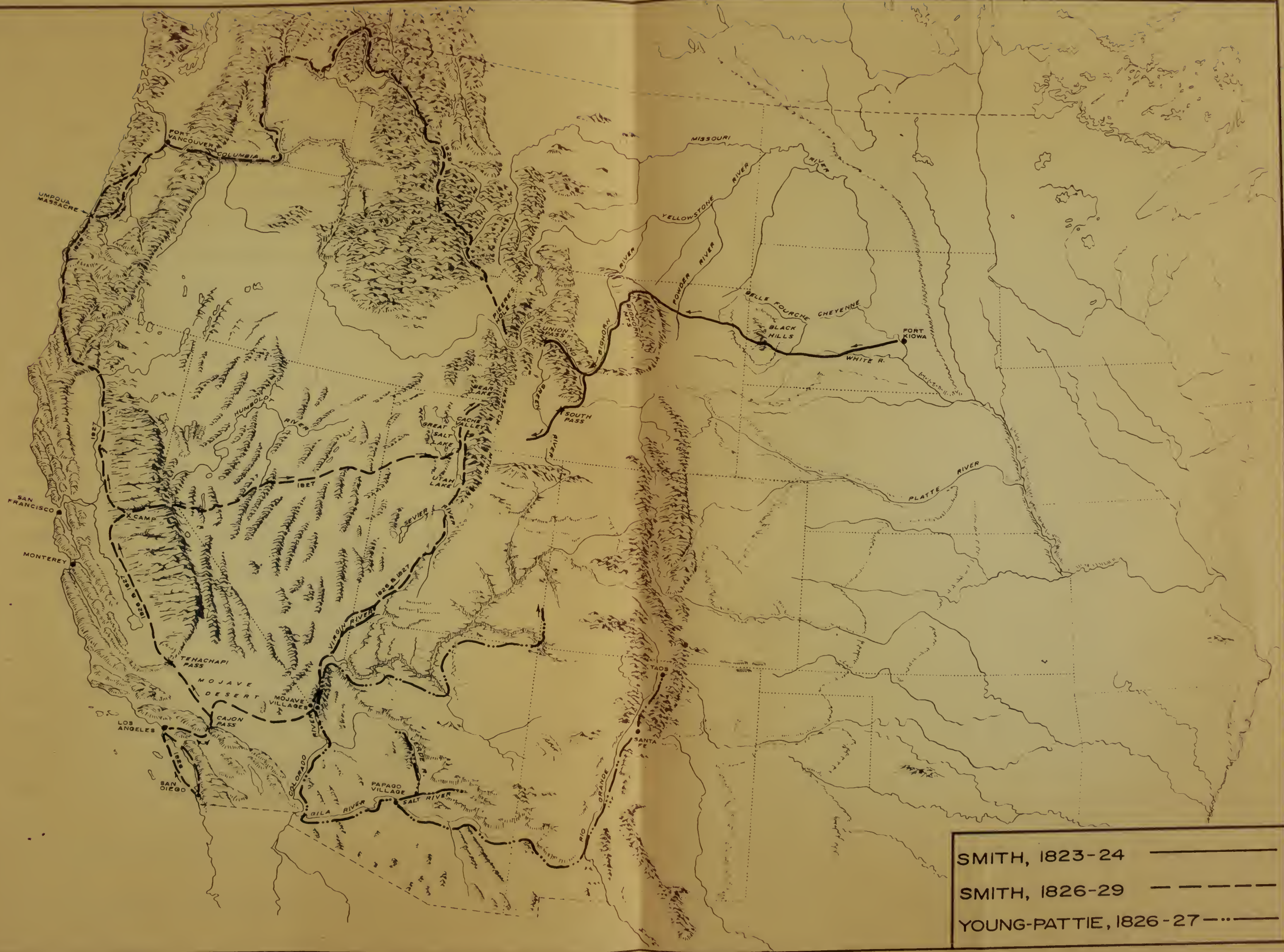
Although contributing richly to geographical knowledge, the Snake Country Expeditions failed to turn much profit. Indeed, the Upper Snake of the 1820's held greater stakes than its potential profit. William H. Ashley's Missouri Fur Company spread into the mountains drained by the Upper Green and pushed operations as far as the eastern fringes of the Great Basin. The Hudson's Bay Company saw in the Americans a threat not only to its snug monopoly but also to Great Britain's claim to the disputed Oregon country. By stripping the Upper Snake, however, the American advance might be turned aside. It was this hope that in large part drew the British year after year to the Snake country. The two companies thus battled for a decade along the 42nd parallel. In the process

¹⁴. The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Glendale, 1941), 48.

American trappers south of the line performed as notable service in the cause of exploration as did the British north of the line.¹⁵

All the famous trappers who served under Ashley's standard did important exploratory work. In the fall of 1824 ^{or winter 1825} Jim Bridger descended Bear River and, stooping to drink from the glaring sheet of water at its mouth, tasted salt. He thought he had found an arm of the Pacific Ocean. In fact it was Great Salt Lake, and he was probably the first white man to see it. The following spring Ashley himself navigated some of the Upper Green River gorges, and scratched his name on a canyon wall for John Wesley Powell to read 44 years later. In 1827 William L. Sublette led a party, which included Daniel Potts and possibly Thomas Fitzpatrick, into the Yellowstone Park region. They carefully examined the Yellowstone Lake and canyons, and discovered the thermal phenomena of Norris Geyser Basin, which Colter had missed 20 years earlier. For a generation people laughed at their yarns of boiling springs, exploding geysers, and bubbling, multicolored mud pots. Ranging from the Wasatch to the Rockies, from the Uintas to the Bighorns, the American trappers compiled a truly impressive record of exploration. But for individual achievement, the quiet, intelligent, and pious Jedediah Smith ranks above all others. / 4

15. The Americans were both free and company trappers. Most of the big names, however, were associated with the ~~Missouri Fur Company~~, which in 1826 became the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette and in 1830 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Ashley & Henry



SMITH, 1823-24

SMITH, 1826-29

YOUNG-PATTIE, 1826-27

Momentous discoveries opened Smith's western career. In the fall of 1823 he captained a party, of which Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Clyman, and William L. Sublette were members, that struck directly west from the Missouri at Fort Kiowa, and became the first recorded Americans to enter the Black Hills of Dakota. Farther west they spent some time with the Crows on Wind River, and learned of many beaver over the mountains on the "Seeds-ka-day"--Green River. Early in 1824 an attempt to force through snow-blocked Union Pass failed, but the Crows told of another, easier pass to the south. What the Astorians made known in 1812 had been forgotten, and Jedediah Smith had to make it known all over again. St. Louis papers announced that the party had "discovered a passage by which loaded wagons can at this time reach the navigable waters of the Columbia River." Papers throughout the country picked up the item. "Here is the dawn of South Pass on the American consciousness," wrote Dale Morgan, "and two years would not pass before the fact was blazing in the West with noonday brilliance."¹⁶

The effective discovery of South Pass, as one authority points out,¹⁷ exceeded all others in significance, for in opening the central route to the Pacific it was the necessary preliminary of all others. Yet Smith is best remembered for his journeys of 1826-27 and 1827-29, wilderness treks of a magnitude unparalleled

16. Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West (Indianapolis, 1953), 155.

17. E. W. Gilbert, The Exploration of Western America, 1800-1850 (Cambridge, England, 1933), 140.

in the history of the fur trade. They called upon all the courage, endurance, and skill with which four years in the mountains had equipped him.

The trappers staged the 1826 rendezvous in Cache Valley, northeast of Great Salt Lake. From here, in August, Smith and 14 men headed southwest, to the valleys of Utah Lake and the Sevier River, in search of unexploited beaver streams. Finding few, they traveled fast. By late October, they had left the Great Basin and descended the Virgin and the Colorado to the Mojave Villages. In part, although they did not know it, Smith and his men had followed the footsteps of Escalante and Garcés, but between the Upper Virgin and the Mojave Villages the country was new to white men. Half their horses dead, the trappers labored west across the Mojave Desert and in late November, after crossing the San Bernardino Mountains, reached the Pacific Coast at the mission of San Gabriel.

Smith's arrival spread consternation among the suspicious Californians. It required a trip to San Diego and two months of battling the tedious machine of Mexican bureaucracy before he won permission to leave the province. Jedediah complied by retracing his steps to the Mojave Desert, but then turned north and slipped into the San Joaquin Valley by way of Tehachapi Pass. The party worked its way north in a leisurely fashion, trapping the streams and searching for a pass over the Sierra.

By late May 1827 it had become evident that the group could not surmount the Sierra with baggage and furs in time to reach Bear Lake for the summer rendezvous. Leaving the main party in camp on the Stanislaus River, Smith and two men attacked the mountains, got through possibly at Ebbetts Pass, and became the first known white men to cross the Sierra. Thirst, hunger, and exhaustion marked the journey across the Nevada and Utah deserts--another first--but on June 27 they came out of the wilderness, more dead than alive, at Great Salt Lake--"a joyful sight." On July 3 they reached Bear Lake and the rendezvous. A cannon hauled up from St. Louis--the first wheeled vehicle to cross the mountains--boomed a salute in honor of Jedediah's safe return.

After the close of rendezvous, Smith took 18 trappers and again turned towards California, for he had promised to come back for the men camped on the Stanislaus. Except for a few minor deviations, he retraced his earlier trail, and near the end of August once more arrived at the Mojave Villages. The Indians were no longer friendly. They suddenly fell upon the trappers and killed nine. Jedediah and eight survivors escaped, pushed across the Mojave Desert on foot, and managed to reach the San Bernardino Valley by way of Cajon Pass.

Again Smith became embroiled with the Mexican officials, and this year it took four months to escape. On December 30, 1827, however, he headed north for the Columbia. His company, reinforced

by those left behind in 1826, now numbered 20 men. They moved slowly up the great Central Valley, trapping the tributaries of the Sacramento. May 1828 found them ranging the drainage of the Klamath; June brought them to Rogue River; and in July they were wandering up the Oregon Coast, deep in Hudson's Bay Company territory. For three months there had been Indian trouble. On July 14, while Smith scouted ahead, Umpqua Indians attacked the camp of the trappers at the forks of the Umpqua River. Only three escaped and, together with Smith, succeeded in reaching the Hudson's Bay post of Fort Vancouver, at the mouth of the Willamette.

Although the venerable Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, hardly rejoiced at this American intrusion on domain claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, he received Smith kindly and even helped recover some of the property seized by the Umpquas after the massacre. Jedediah remained in the Northwest almost a year. Then, in the spring of 1829, he sold his horses and accumulated furs to the British and, traveling up the Columbia and Clark's Fork, reached Pierre's Hole, in the shadow of the Tetons, in time for the 1829 rendezvous. Two years later, on the Santa Fe Trail, Comanches ended the brief career of Jedediah Smith.

At the time of his death, Smith undoubtedly knew more about western geography than any other man. Unlike his companions in the fur trade, he transferred much of his knowledge to paper. Congressman William H. Ashley took Smith's map of the West to

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups to gather information from stakeholders. Additionally, it discusses the application of statistical software to process and interpret the collected data.

3. The third part describes the results of the data analysis. It highlights the key findings and trends observed, such as the increasing demand for certain services and the declining interest in others. These insights are used to inform strategic decisions and guide the organization's future direction.

4. The fourth part provides a detailed breakdown of the financial performance. It includes a comparison of actual results against the budget and identifies areas where costs were exceeded or savings were realized. This section is crucial for understanding the organization's financial health and identifying opportunities for improvement.

5. The fifth part discusses the overall impact of the project and the lessons learned. It reflects on the challenges faced during the implementation phase and the strategies used to overcome them. This section serves as a valuable resource for future projects and helps to build organizational knowledge.

6. The final part of the document concludes with a summary of the key points and a call to action. It encourages all team members to continue their commitment to excellence and to work together to achieve the organization's long-term goals.

Washington, and it fell into the hands of David H. Burr, a cartographer. In 1839 Burr published a map that, despite its unaccountable failure to gain wide influence, sketched a picture of the West much as Jedediah Smith had known it. It was "Smith's great service to geographical and cartographic knowledge," wrote Carl Wheat, "to tie together the worlds of Escalante and Miera, on the one hand, and of Lewis and Clark, on the other, linking them firmly together by a brilliant feat of exploration and applied intelligence."¹⁸

During six years of travel Jedediah Smith had rediscovered South Pass, crossed the Utah and Nevada deserts, and surmounted the Sierra. He and other trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had explored the Upper Green and Snake Rivers and the Great Salt Lake Valley. The result was a central route to the Pacific, a highway across the continent far more eligible than that blazed by Lewis and Clark.

Joseph Reddeford Walker

By 1830 the central route was already well defined as far as Great Salt Lake--Platte and Sweetwater Rivers, South Pass, and the Wasatch passes. Beyond, Jedediah Smith had demonstrated that

18. Wheat, Mapping the Transmississippi West, II, 124. Of great historical interest is another map of Smith parentage. Utilizing the more precise framework of a copy of the 1845 Frémont map, George Gibbs filled in information drawn from a Smith map. Not published until 1954, it had no contemporary influence, but is of supreme historical value today for what it tells about Smith and his achievements. Ibid., 119-34.

the Interior Basin--the true Great American Desert--and the Sierra Nevada could be crossed. So, too, had Peter Skene Ogden penetrated the northern reaches of the desert and traveled along the banks of the Humboldt. But neither had marked out a clearly recognizable path linking Salt Lake with the Pacific. It remained for Joseph Reddeford Walker to show that the Humboldt offered the best way across the desert. And although he did not reach California by the Sierra passes later preferred by immigrants, still he merits the distinction of having opened the western end of the California Trail.

Walker had been well seasoned by 12 years of trading and trapping in New Mexico when he came to the Rockies in 1832 as a lieutenant of Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, Army captain turned amateur fur trader. Bonneville sent Walker and 40 men on a trapping expedition to California in 1833-34. Financially, it was an unqualified failure, as indeed was Bonneville's entire experiment in the fur trade. But it earned for Walker a secure place among the ranks of the West's great explorers.

The expedition left Bonneville's fort on Green River shortly after the summer rendezvous of 1833 and, passing Great Salt Lake on the north, picked up the Humboldt (then Ogden's River) near its head in northeastern Nevada. Few beaver remained on this stream, but the trappers moved slowly down its barren valley taking what they could find. ~~Impoverished~~ Digger Indians proved increasingly

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troublesome, and upon reaching the Carson Sink, where the river loses itself, Walker decided they would have to be punished. Turning suddenly on the tormentors, the whites killed 39 and scattered the rest in panic.¹⁹ Walker now faced the towering rampart of the Sierra Nevada. He turned south to the lake that today bears his name, then assaulted the mountains head-on. For days the expedition wandered among the forbidding peaks and valleys, hostile with the first touch of winter, trying to force a passage to the valley beyond. The route is only generally known, but it brought the trappers to the rim of the Yosemite wonderland and made them the first whites to view the future National Park. Sustained largely by horseflesh, they won the battle, and by mid-November camped on the San Joaquin River.

Walker and his party traveled around California, both on the coast and in the Central Valley, for three months. In the middle of February 1834 they turned homeward, crossing the Sierra by a pass to the south that later took Walker's name. It dropped them into the Mojave Desert. Instead of following Jedediah Smith's trail via the Colorado, Virgin, and Sevier Rivers, Walker turned

19. Walker has been subjected to much harsh criticism for his handling of this affair. Although his men dealt with the Indians more severely than necessary, the safety and progress of the expedition demanded decisive punishment. Zenas Leonard, Walker's clerk, pronounced probably the fairest judgment: "Our object was to strike a decisive blow. This we did--even to a greater extent than we had intended."

Order 1829-30 all wrong →



OGDEN 1824-30 —————
WALKER 1833-34 - - - - -

north along the eastern base of the Sierra. Ascending the narrow trough of the Owens River Valley, he brought his men through dust, heat, and thirst once more to the Carson Sink. Here again Indians proved annoying. Again Walker turned loose his aggressive frontiersmen. They killed 14 Diggers and had no further trouble. The expedition journeyed back up the Humboldt, turned north to the Snake, and in June arrived at the 1834 rendezvous site on Bear River.

Walker had nailed down the findings of Jedediah Smith and projected the central overland route from Salt Lake to the Pacific. A decade later, as guide for Frémont and for California-bound emigrants, he was to make further contributions by perfecting the route of the trail in the Sierra.

The Trappers of the Southwest

Pioneering the central route, both Jedediah Smith and Joseph Reddeford Walker touched, at the southern extremities of their travels, the paths of other trappers pushing west to California. During the 1820's and 1830's the mountain men based on Taos, New Mexico, carried the work of exploration south to the Sierra Madre and west to the Pacific. They were not pioneers, for Spaniards had preceded them in the 18th century. In fact, a reasonably faithful representation of the Southwest, blurring into fantasy on the north and west, had turned up on the map of New Spain that Baron von Humboldt published in 1811. But, as Dale Morgan observed, "In American exploration discoveries had to be

made and remade." And so the men of Taos, ignorant of Escalante, Garcés, Kino, and Anza, rediscovered the Southwest.

Spanish traders had seen the Lower Green River only seven years after Wilson Price Hunt, Astoria-bound, crossed its upper reaches. Noting the green tint of the water, they named the river Rio Verde. Six years later, as Jedediah Smith was leading Ashley's advance into the valley of the Upper Green, Etienne Provost, out of Taos, was trapping the same stream south of the Uinta Range. He and his companions had already explored the mountains drained by the Grand and the San Juan, and by the fall of 1824 had pushed across the Wasatch to the valley of Utah Lake.

Farther south, Ewing Young and James Ohio Pattie showed the way. In 1826 two parties set out to trap the Gila River, one under Young, the other, including Pattie, under Miguel Robidoux. Neither knew of the other's presence on the Gila. The Robidoux group met disaster at the hands of Papago Indians near the junction of the Gila and the Salt. There were only three survivors, including Pattie and Robidoux, but they had the good fortune to fall in with Ewing Young's company of 30 men. The trappers returned to the Papago Village and, in a surprise attack, made the Indians pay dearly for the massacre of Robidoux's men.

After trapping the Salt and the Verde, Young and his followers traveled down the Gila to its mouth, then--it was now late fall of 1826--up the Colorado to the Mojave Villages. Jedediah Smith had

recently been cordially received here on his first trip to California, but not Young, and not, as we have seen, Smith on his next journey in 1827. Although the trappers came out on top in the first encounter, they later allowed themselves to be caught off guard. The Mojaves wiped out almost half the party. The surviving 18 had their revenge next day, for they shot down several warriors and hung their bodies to a cottonwood tree, "to dangle in terror to the rest."

Safely out of Mojave country, Young led his men up the left bank of the Colorado and along the south rim of Grand Canyon. Their route becomes lost in Pattie's vague prose, but they apparently trapped the San Juan and went as far north as the Yellowstone before returning to Santa Fe. Here Gov. Manuel Armijo promptly wiped out the fruits of their incredible journey by confiscating the entire catch, some \$20,000 in beaver fur.

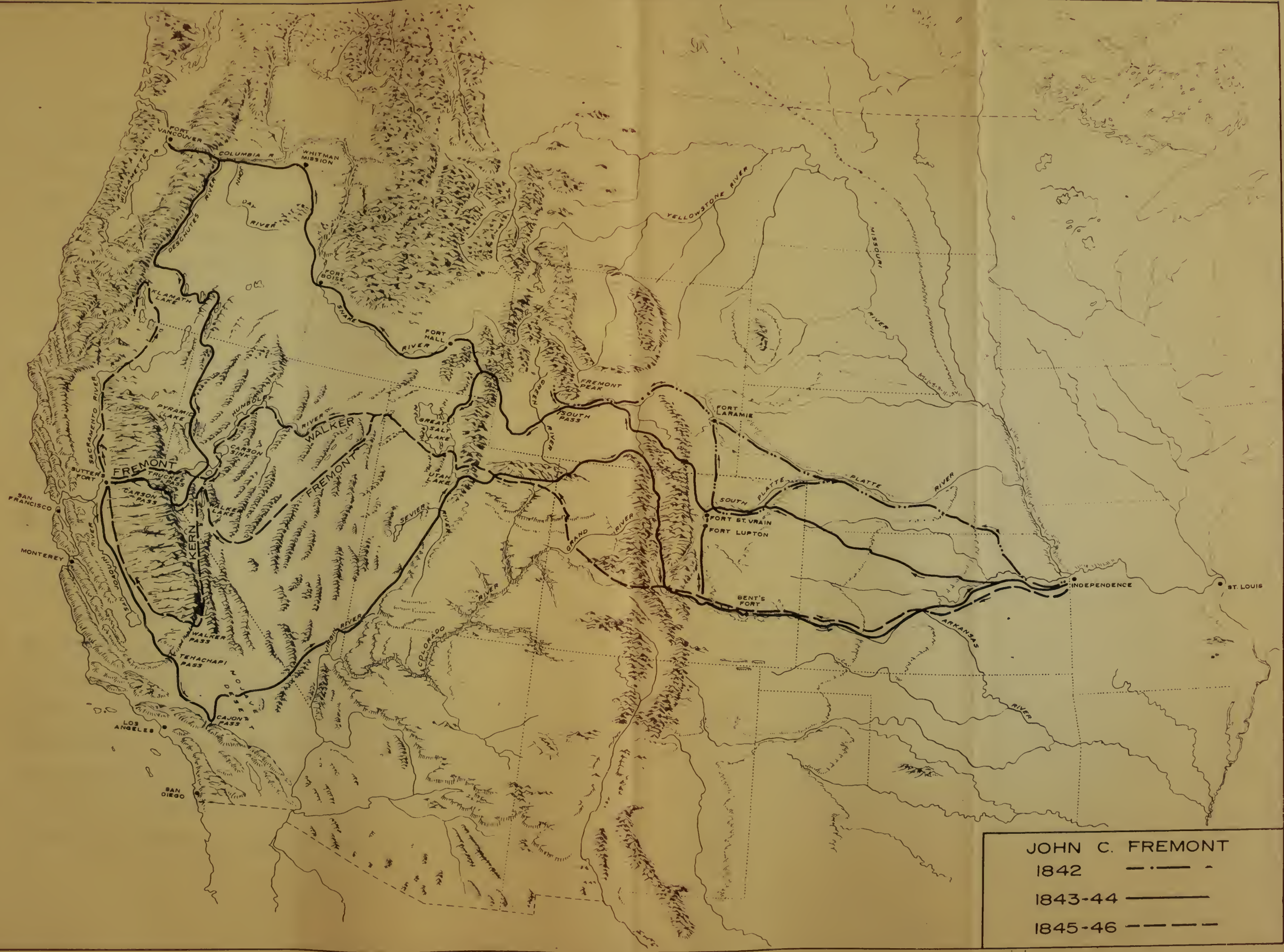
The fur trade centering on Taos flourished from 1825 until about 1835. During this decade such men as Ewing Young, Thomas Boggs, William Wolfskill, Milton Sublette, the Bent brothers, Céran St. Vrain, Kit Carson, Antoinne Robidoux, Sylvester Pratte, and Old Bill Williams ranged every drainage of the Southwest. They trapped the Pecos and Rio Grande, the Gila, Salt, and Verde, the Colorado, Virgin, Sevier, San Juan, Green, and Grand. In 1829 Young took a party down the Gila and crossed the Mojave Desert to San Gabriel Mission. Trapping down the San Joaquin, he met Peter

Skene Ogden, working far south of his base at Fort Vancouver. The next year, 1830, William Wolfskill led a group to California by a more northerly route. He pieced together fragments of pathways opened by earlier explorers, and the result was "The Old Spanish Trail," Santa Fe to Los Angeles via the Great Basin.

The Taos trappers did for the Southwest what the Rocky Mountain Fur Company did farther north. They penetrated every recess of the country and marked out two more routes to California.

John C. Frémont and the Topographical Engineers

More than any other pioneer breed, the fur trappers had explored the West. Without detracting from the enormous contributions of Lewis and Clark or the less significant accomplishments of Pike and Long, objective evaluation must award principal credit for original discovery to the mountain men. Those who survived acquired a map of the West such as cartographers would not construct on paper for decades, but, locked in their mind's eye, it benefited no one but themselves. Alone of the trappers, Jedediah Smith and Peter Skene Ogden succeeded in imparting to the world a tiny fraction of their vast store of knowledge. In the end, therefore, it was the well equipped government expedition that made the face of the West known to the world. As exploration involves dissemination as well as acquisition of knowledge, the officers of the Corps of Topographical Engineers rank with the mountain men as great explorers.



JOHN C. FREMONT
1842
1843-44 —————
1845-46 - - - - -

A non-West Pointer, a purposeful ally and agent of the expansionists in Congress, and a professional officer who founded his career almost solely on the support of politicians, John C. Frémont was not a representative officer of the Topographical Corps. Yet the techniques and ostensible objectives of his explorations were representative of the Corps' approach to its western duties and his geographical achievement surpassed that of any other single officer. For these reasons, the expeditions of Frémont illustrate the contributions of the Army topographers to western exploration.

Guided by such mountain men as Kit Carson, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and Joseph Reddeford Walker, Lieutenant Frémont broke no new trails. But he and his technicians gathered scientific information, not beaver pelts. And they possessed the ability and the channels of communication to make the fruits of their labor available for common benefit.

In all Frémont led five expeditions to the Rocky Mountains and beyond. His achievement as an explorer rests mainly on the brief summer outing of 1842 and the "great reconnaissance" of 1843-44. The 1842 trip took him only to South Pass and the Wind River Mountains. He shared the Oregon Trail with the vanguard of the great migration that, the following year, would take hundreds of emigrants to the disputed Oregon country. After climbing a mountain of the Wind River Range that he erroneously labeled the

highest peak of the Rockies (now Frémont Peak), he turned back to civilization. Frémont had trod only part of perhaps the best known wilderness highway in the country, and had returned with scientific data of disappointingly meager value. Yet his absorbing, richly descriptive report, published as a congressional document under the aegis of his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, attained wide circulation and gripped the public imagination as no official report had ever done. It struck a blow at Long's image of the Great American Desert, riveted attention on and promoted emigration to Oregon, enormously strengthened the hand of the expansionists in Congress, and also made of John C. Frémont a national hero. The beautifully detailed map of the route by Charles Preuss set forth precisely the sort of information needed by the traveler, and guided many an Oregon-bound emigrant as far as South Pass.

The second expedition produced massive results. Frémont's assignment was to map the entire length of the Oregon Trail. With a slight deviation to the Great Salt Lake, he reached the Columbia by November 1843. Not content to return by the same route, he struck southeast to the Great Basin, then made a foolhardy but successful winter crossing of the Sierra into Mexican California. After pausing at Sutter's Fort, the party rode south below the rampart of the Sierra, crossed at Tehachapi Pass, and picked up the Old Spanish Trail. Roughly duplicating the route of Jedediah Smith, the explorers touched Utah Lake, crossed the Wasatch, Uinta, and Rocky Mountains, and reached Bent's Fort on July 1, 1844.

Frémont had thus led the first scientific expedition to traverse and map a major part of the West. He had mapped the Great Salt Lake for the first time. He had pointed out a practicable pass over the Sierra to California. Most important, he had named the Great Basin and at long last revealed its true character. Charles Preuss lettered on his map: "The Great Basin; diameter 11° of latitude, 10° of longitude: elevation above the sea between 4 and 5000 feet: surrounded by lofty mountains: contents almost unknown, but believed to be filled with rivers and lakes which have no communication with the sea, deserts and oases which have never been explored, and savage tribes which no traveler has seen or described." With Americans turning their eyes increasingly to the West, with the nation on the verge of acquiring Oregon and, by the Mexican War, California and the Southwest, the knowledge made public by Frémont proved of incalculable value. Indeed, he had become almost the personification of Manifest Destiny.

The final expeditions, largely in country he had already covered or that was well known, kept Frémont's name before the public, but the actual geographical results dim to insignificance when compared to the accomplishments of 1843-44. The expedition of 1845-46 took him again to California, where he played a conspicuous role in the Bear Flag revolt and became embroiled in a quarrel with Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny. This led to a court-martial and, ultimately, to Frémont's resignation from the Army. The disastrous

fourth expedition (1848) and the fifth (1853), undertaken to help buttress his father-in-law's case for St. Louis as eastern terminus of the proposed Pacific Railroad, were private ventures in quest of a suitable route through the southern Rockies.

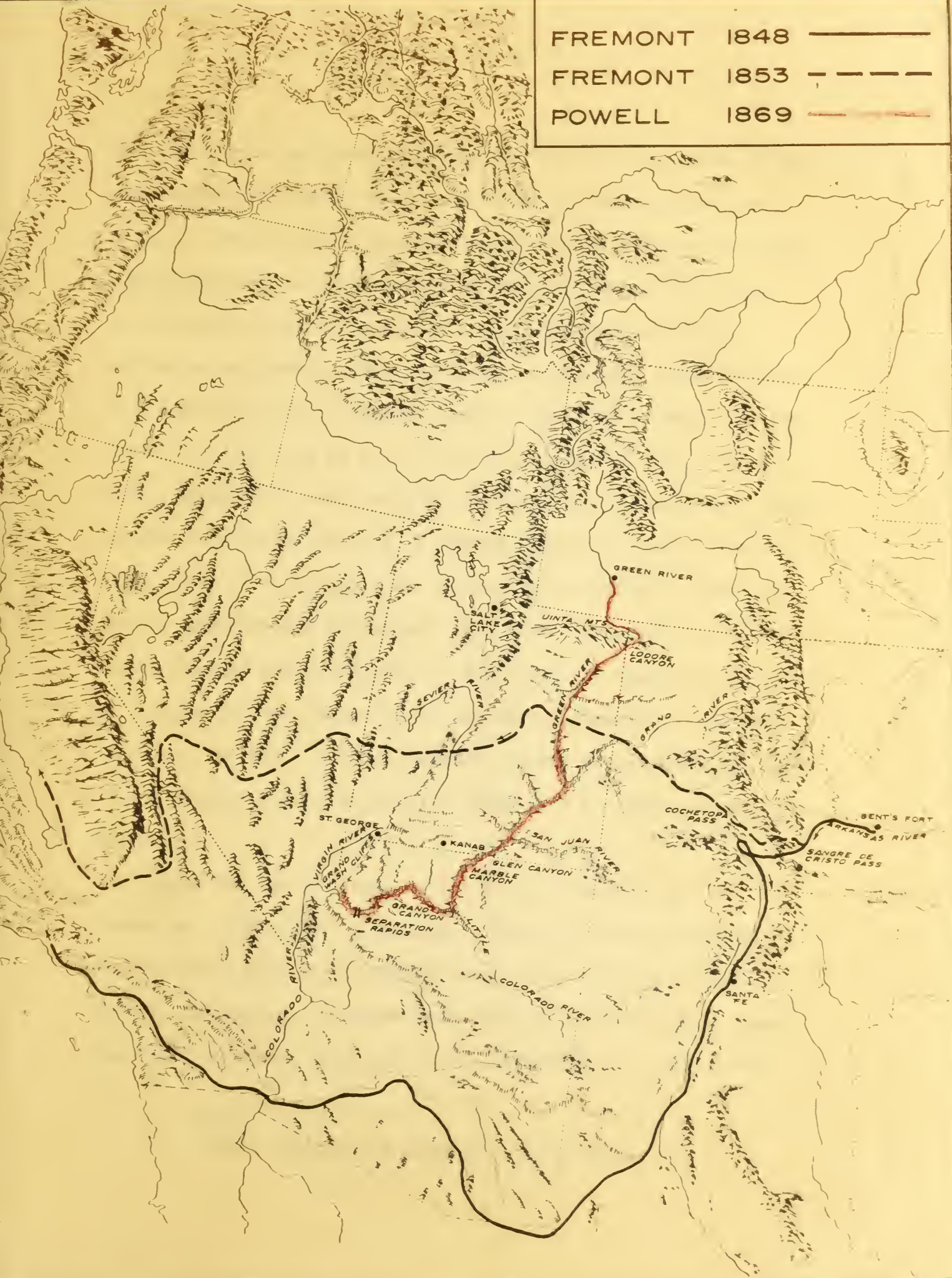
Summing up Frémont's career, an eminent British geographer concluded that the "surveys of the South Pass, the Great Salt Lake, the Humboldt River, and the Truckee Pass were all valuable additions to geographical knowledge, but there can be no doubt that his greatest scientific achievement was the discovery of the real nature of the Great Interior Basin on America."²⁰

Charles Preuss' important map of the route of Frémont's second journey was in fact an accurate skeleton map of western America. It depicted in detail only the topography that had been directly observed, and left great blank spaces in between. The task of filling in the blanks fell to Frémont's colleagues of the Topographical Engineers. During the late 1840's and the 1850's, the Mexican War, the Boundary Survey, and the Pacific Railroad Surveys drew to the West a set of capable officers who prosecuted the work with vigor, skill, and considerably less ostentation than Frémont.

In 1846 Lt. William H. Emory accompanied Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe and thence via the Gila to San Diego. He and his small corps of

20. Gilbert, Exploration of Western America, 190-91.

FREMONT	1848	—————
FREMONT	1853	- - - - -
POWELL	1869	—————



assistants made meticulous and frequent astronomical observations and tirelessly gathered every variety of information about the country. Emory's map of Kearny's route--"a document of towering significance in the cartographic history of the West"²¹--linked the Missouri with the Pacific by a southern trail accurately delineated and exhaustively described. A thorough reconnaissance of New Mexico by Lts. James W. Abert and William G. Peck, and the information gathered by Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke and the Mormon Battalion, added depth to the Emory map on the south. Capt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Capt. J. N. Macomb, and Lt. James H. Simpson added depth on the north. The work of Capt. Joseph E. Johnston and his subordinates in opening roads from San Antonio to El Paso and to the Red River, together with the work of Emory and associates in running the new international boundary, extended the coverage to Texas. By 1857, when the Boundary Survey closed its work, much of the Southwest had for the first time been accurately mapped and described.

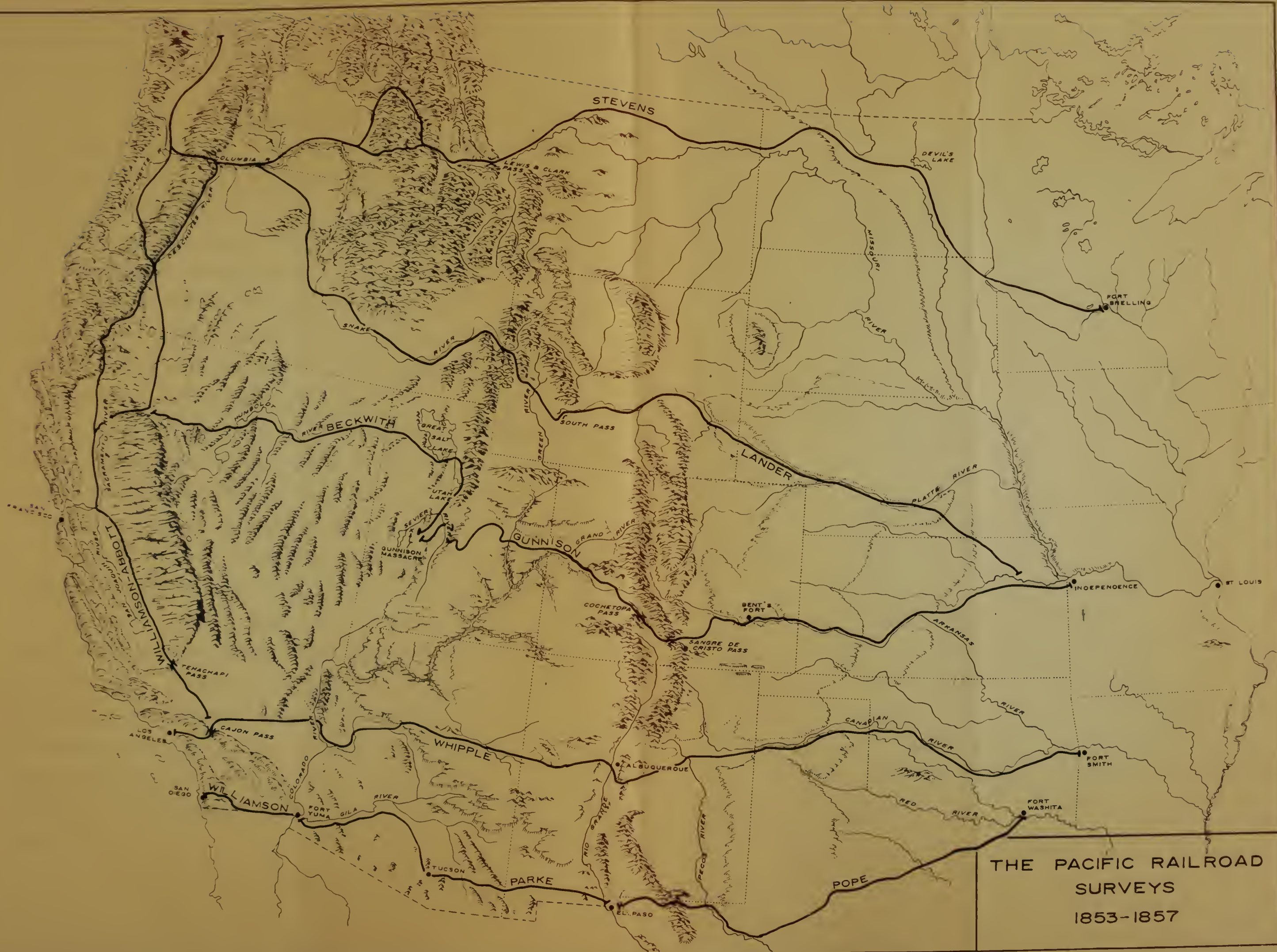
Along the central route, Capt. Howard Stansbury in 1849 conducted a survey of the valleys of Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake--country explored a quarter of a century earlier by Smith, Walker, and Provost. Simpson later ran the reconnaissance across the Great Basin and the Sierra to San Francisco. Farther north,

21. Wheat, Mapping the Transmississippi West, III, 6.

in the land of Lewis and Clark and the Astorians, Lts. G. K. Warren and W. F. Reynolds mapped the Missouri and Yellowstone and their tributaries. Lts. W. H. Warner, R. S. Williamson, and G. H. Derby performed like service in California, Oregon, and Washington.

With the Pacific Railroad Surveys, begun in 1853, the Topographical Engineers launched the most comprehensive program of western mapping yet undertaken. Officers assigned to this project ran surveys that joined the Mississippi to the Pacific along five different routes: Isaac I. Stevens (who was not an Army officer) from Minnesota to Puget Sound between the 47th and 49th parallels; F. W. Lander (also a civilian) from St. Louis to Puget Sound along the Oregon Trail; Lts. John W. Gunnison and E. G. Beckwith from St. Louis to San Francisco between the 38th and 39th parallels; Lt. A. W. Whipple from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Los Angeles along the 35th parallel; and Lts. John G. Parke and John Pope from Fort Smith to San Diego along the 32nd parallel.

The Pacific Railroad Surveys failed to resolve the issue between North and South that had led Congress to authorize them. But the detailed maps and handsomely illustrated volumes that resulted contributed immensely to knowledge of the American West. Together with the other reconnaissances of the 1850's, they added much flesh to the bare bones of Charles Preuss' map of 1845.



John Wesley Powell

The Civil War brought to a close the work of the Topographical Engineers, and also ended a half-century epoch of vast accomplishment in the exploration of western America. Trappers had plunged into the unknown and come to know it intimately. Trained topographers and scientists had followed, and made the knowledge of the few common property. Together they filled in the map of the West, reducing the cartographic nonsense of 1805 to the order and accuracy of 1857. In this year Lt. Gouveneur K. Warren prepared for the Pacific Railroad Surveys an immense map that dramatized the enormous advances of the preceding 50 years. With few exceptions it depicted the West essentially as we know it today. Still, in its center the carefully hachured mountain masses yielded to a sizeable space of blank paper across which Lieutenant Warren inked the word "unexplored."

A land of sweeping sterile deserts cut by tremendous canyons, studded with fantastic eroded rock-forms, and rimmed with plateaus that dwarfed most genuine mountain ranges, the country of the Upper Colorado River forced the westward movement to detour both north and south. It offered little beaver fur, no mineral wealth, no grazing or farming lands, in short no incentive to exploration. It remained to John Wesley Powell, one-armed professor with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, to reveal the mysteries of the Colorado and erase the last "unexplored" label from the map of the West.

Privately financed, Powell and eight men in 1869 navigated the Green and Colorado Rivers from the settlement of Green River, Wyoming, to the Mormon towns at the lower end of Grand Canyon. The well-publicized exploits of the expedition, together with the manifest need for knowledge of this last American wilderness, led to Powell's appointment to head a Government survey of what he called the Plateau Province. Three other official parties took the field at the same time for similar purposes elsewhere--the King, Hayden, and Wheeler Surveys. All made genuine contributions. Alone of the four, the Powell Survey dealt with truly virgin territory. From 1871 to 1874 it methodically conducted further exploratory, topographical, and geological investigations of the Colorado River. As a voyage of original discovery, however, it is the perilous, adventure-filled expedition of 1869 that is of greatest concern here.

On May 24, 1869, beneath the new Union Pacific bridge across Green River, Powell and his eight men (five were ex-trappers, one his brother) embarked in four specially designed rowboats laden with provisions and instruments. Sixty miles to the south the river forged a passage through the Uinta Mountains. The explorers were not pioneers here. Trappers had occasionally wintered in Brown's Hole, Gen. William H. Ashley had boated into these awesome canyons in 1825, and Powell himself had partly reconnoitered them from the top. But the party had yet to acquire a healthy respect

for the river, and had yet to develop skill in negotiating the treacherous falls and rapids. Some the men ran, others they "lined" with ropes from the narrow bank.

Lodore Canyon, below Brown's Hole, turned out to be an almost continuous rush of water. On June 7 one of the boats failed to heed Powell's signal to beach for the laborious process of lining around a bad stretch. It swept down the rapids, piled up on a boulder, and tossed the three boatmen into the dangerous water. They scrambled aboard before the current pulled the boat around the obstruction. Once more it raced down the wild rapids, and 200 yards farther struck another rock broadside. The heavy craft splintered and broke in two, spilling the occupants again into the river. By almost superhuman efforts, the men ashore rescued their half-drowned comrades. Later, they found half of the boat downstream and recovered the indispensable barometers along with a keg of whiskey. But precious food stores had disappeared, a calamity that later had serious consequences.

The rapids of Lodore Canyon were mild compared with those ahead. But the disaster instilled caution, and experience produced increasing skill. In places the three remaining boats floated slowly on a lazy current. More often they sped along at speeds up to 20 m.p.h. And frequently they encountered raging rapids, one after another, that required lining or the more strenuous portaging. Sometimes, where sheer rock walls rose vertically

from the water, the only course was to plunge into the torrent and hope for the best. The river twisted and turned, and many of the rapids lay out of sight, beyond a bend in the canyon; they announced their existence only by a roar that, echoing between cliffs, drowned the shouts of the men. Through Desolation, Labyrinth, and Stillwater Canyons, which Powell named and where possible climbed out for observations, the expedition made its way to the mouth of the Grand (now called the Colorado). This river, rising high in the Colorado Rockies, came in from the left on July 16 to form, with the Green, the main stem of the Colorado. Foaming Cataract Canyon, just below, precipitated the boats into placid Glen Canyon, with its towering smooth sandstone walls and, lower, the silt-laden waters of the San Juan issuing from the east.

Marble Canyon took Powell and his men past the mouth of the Little Colorado and lowered them in the dark granitic depths of the Grand Canyon. By now the expedition, approaching the limit of human endurance, verged on disintegration. Each day required constant strenuous labor that the dwindling food supply, suffering from the losses of the Lodore wreck, barely sustained. Nerves went ragged from prolonged canyon confinement, incessant din of raging water, and anxiety over food and the unknown length of the journey ahead. There were downpours of rain that made sleep impossible, blazing sun, wind-blown sand and spray. The trappers fumed at Powell's maddening insistence upon "geologizing" when

their very lives depended upon haste. And finally, the dark walls of the Grand Canyon, rising ever higher, grew more and more oppressive.

On August 27, with a five-day food supply remaining, a seemingly impassable cataract produced the crisis. Part of the men demanded that they abandon the river altogether and try to make their way out of the canyon and across the desert to the Mormon settlements on the Virgin River. The majority supported Powell in his determination to go ahead, but here, at Separation Rapids, three men next day struck out up a side canyon rather than run the rapids. Later, their bodies were found on the Kaibab Plateau bristling with Shivwits arrows. The three battered boats miraculously survived the buffeting of Separation Rapids and, three days later, emerged from the canyon at Grand Wash Cliffs, safe in Mormon country.

The fight for survival had seriously reduced the scientific fruits of the expedition. But Powell had shown the way, and the details could be filled in later. In the subsequent, less dramatic passage of the river, he and his assistants worked out the character of the Plateau Province so carefully and thoroughly that in the main their findings remain unchallenged to this day.

John Wesley Powell and his men rank as the last pioneer explorers of the West. As Wallace Stegner concluded, "A chapter that had begun with the beginning of the century when Robert

Livingston and James Monroe took a chance and bought vaguely-defined Louisiana from a harried French Empire, ended approximately 1872 when a party of Powell's men discovered and named the last unknown river and explored the last unknown mountains in the United States."²²

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Part II

SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

Most of the explorations dealt with in this study are well illustrated by historic sites. For some, the exact route has in places been lost or is a matter of conjecture, leaving a gap in the historic sites by which the trail of a pathfinder may be traced. There are enough, however, to do ample justice to commemoration of this significant theme of American history.

True, almost no historic buildings can be found to illustrate the expeditions of great explorers, for the occasional structure that an explorer built was a rude, temporary affair that collapsed within a few months or years. Only a reconstruction such as Pike's Stockade, Colorado, can recapture the appearance and meaning of such habitations. On the other hand, historic sites abound. There are sites of temporary shelters or fortifications, sites of Indian villages visited along the way, sites of military or fur trading forts at which an expedition started or ended, and sites of important events, such as Indian attacks, that happened to expeditions.

There are yet others, important both in numbers and illustrative value, that are not usually thought of as historic sites. These are the landmarks and other geographical features that trace the route of an expedition. A few are important. The site of an event or decision that changed the course of an expedition, if the natural setting remains relatively unimpaired, may claim considerable academic

significance. Although the great majority of geographical sites are individually unimportant, taken together and visited in proper sequence, they have enormous collective value for investing with reality and meaning the journal or narrative of the early explorer. Growing numbers of amateur historians are, in fact, discovering in this truth an admirable vacation framework.

The works of man have taken their toll on exploration sites. Explorers followed the river valleys. Settlers came up the rivers too, plowed the valleys, and built cabins from which sprang cities. Lisa's fort, base for John Colter's mid-winter trek of 1807-08, now lies somewhere in the beet fields of the Yellowstone Valley. The sites of Pike's first and second stockades are surrounded by the cities of Pueblo and Canon City. Phoenix covers the site of the Papago Village where explorer-trappers fought two battles with hostile Indians. The canyons of the Green and Colorado Rivers, until recently unchanged since Powell's day, are now scenes of busy dam-building activity. Reservoirs will totally alter the appearance of many. In the Dakotas and Montana, Missouri River dams will flood countless sites associated with great explorers, including the historic Arikara Villages. Explorers also crossed the mountains by way of the easiest passes they could find. Today our highways and railroads follow the same routes. Cajon Pass, which once admitted Father Garcés and Jedediah Smith to the California settlements, now plays host to a super-highway complete with filling stations, motels, and cafes.

Yet some sites of importance, mainly in the Rocky Mountain states, have escaped serious damage. Union Pass and Frémont Peak in Wyoming's rugged Wind River Mountains have so far discouraged all access except by pack-horse and jeep trail. Happily, the only modern intrusion on South Pass, which once carried the great Pacific wagon highway over the continental divide, is an inconspicuous secondary road. Cochetopa Pass, once a leading contender for the route of the Pacific Railroad, also enjoys a wilderness character disturbed only by a gravel road.

There are many sites that might be preserved, or at least more fittingly marked. Some work has been done. Colorado recognizes Pike at the reconstructed stockade in the San Luis Valley. Several states, notably Montana, focus attention on the history of exploration through the medium of highway historical signs. California's system of Registered Historical Landmarks deals generously with explorers. The National Park Service tells part of the story at the outstanding fur trade museum at Grand Teton National Park, where the paths of many explorers crossed, and at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. It also commemorates Lewis and Clark at Fort Clatsop in Oregon. Yet, compared to other themes of American history, exploration remains badly illustrated by historic sites set aside for public benefit.

Other studies dealing with exploration have already been produced by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings--

"Spanish Exploration and Settlement," "French Exploration and Settlement," "English Exploration and Settlement," and "The Lewis and Clark Expedition." "The Fur Trade" also deals at length with exploration. "Great Explorers of the West" is principally intended, therefore, to tie up the loose ends, to treat explorers whose contributions were somewhat less significant but whose role in the mosaic of continental exploration cannot be neglected. Accordingly, most of the sites here judged of exceptional value draw justification from their role in the broad scheme of history as well as from their significance to a single exploration.

In the following pages historians of the National Park Service have evaluated the more important sites associated with western exploration. The first group are those believed to be exceptionally valuable for illustrating or commemorating this theme of American history. The second group of sites, "Other Sites Considered," include those of sufficient importance to merit some attention but not judged of exceptional value. The third group, "Sites Also Noted," lists sites of marginal importance that were examined by Survey historians in the course of their travels.

SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

These sites are believed to be exceptionally valuable for illustrating or commemorating the history of western exploration. They have been studied, visited, and judged to meet one or more

of the criteria adopted to determine exceptional value. These criteria are listed in the Appendix.

CHINOOK POINT, WASHINGTON

Location. Fort Columbia Historical State Park, U. S. Highway 101.

Ownership and Administration. State of Washington, State Park and Recreation Commission.

Significance. Discovery of the Columbia River in 1792 marked the climax of a long search by European and American navigators for the legendary Great River of the West. It also marked the beginning of rivalry between Great Britain and the United States for possession of the Pacific Northwest, a struggle that lasted until 1846. Discovery of the Columbia awakened American interest in the Northwest. It led to the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804-06 and to the founding of Astoria in 1811. It also aroused a British response that expressed itself in overland explorations and the establishment of fur trading posts.

On August 17, 1775, the Spanish navigator Bruno Heceta narrowly missed discovering the river. He sailed his ship Santiago into a large bay that he named Assumption. The northern headland, now Cape Disappointment, he called Cape San Roque, the southern promontory, now Point Adams, he named Cape Frondosa. Illness among the crew prevented close investigation, and during the night currents swept the ship out to sea and so far leeward as to discourage another attempt to enter the bay. But he noted in his log that "currents

and eddies of water cause me to believe that place is the mouth of some great river."

The English explorer Capt. James Cook coasted Oregon in 1778, but bad weather caused him to miss the bay altogether. Ten years later Capt. John Meares, also an Englishman, tried to confirm Heceta's suspicion that a great river emptied into the bay. But when he saw the line of breakers that closed the bay he discounted the Spanish story, and expressed his disillusion by naming the northern promontory Cape Disappointment and the bay Deception.

In April 1792 Capt. George Vancouver, sailing under the British flag, noted brown color in the sea water around the bay, but because of Meares' findings did not pause to investigate. Two weeks later, however, Capt. Robert Gray, in the service of Boston merchants, entered Deception Bay and discovered the river. He named it Columbia, after his ship, and called the southern headland Point Adams in honor of Vice President John Adams. After sailing upstream about 30 miles and trading with Indians along the shore, he recrossed the bar and departed. The following October Vancouver, having learned of Gray's discovery, returned to Deception Bay. He sent Lt. W. R. Broughton across the bar to explore the river. The Lieutenant went 100 miles upstream and, probably near the present town of Corbett, Oregon, took possession of the country for Great Britain.



MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER looking east from Fort Stevens on Point Adams, Oregon.
Chinook Point and Fort Columbia Historical Park, Washington, lies at extreme
left, Astoria, Oregon, at extreme right.

National Park Service photo, 1960



MOUTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER AND CAPE DISAPPOINTMENT, looking northwest from Fort Stevens on Point Adams, Oregon. Cape Disappointment, Washington, lies to the extreme right in the far distance.

National Park Service photo, 1960

Gray's chart indicated that he had gone upstream 36 miles, but through mathematical manipulation Broughton reduced the distance to only 15 miles. He concluded that up to this point the river had not narrowed enough to be considered anything but a sound and that therefore Gray had not actually entered the river. Vancouver agreed. This was to be the argument advanced by British diplomats until 1846, when the Oregon question was finally solved. Gray's discovery, however, gave the United States a valid claim, for international law held that the discovery and entrance of a river mouth gave the discovering nation sovereignty not only over the river, but also over its valley, watershed, and all the adjacent coast.

Present Status. Fort Columbia Historical Park is located at Chinook Point on the Washington side of the Columbia. Almost directly across the river, about nine miles distant, is Fort Stevens on Point Adams, in Oregon. About five miles to the southeast is the city of Astoria. Cape Disappointment lies some six miles almost due west. Chinook Point and Scarboro Hill, enclosed by the park boundaries, are prominent landmarks of the lower Columbia and were closely associated with the aboriginal life of the area. They served as bearing marks for early navigators and were mentioned in the narratives of many explorers and other visitors. No event of particular historical importance is known to have occurred within the park, but within sight of it, or in its vicinity, unfolded the whole pageant of exploration and development of the lower Columbia

region. Scenes of many significant events may be seen from Scarboro Hill as from no other spot. Fort Columbia Historical State Park is therefore the best single site to illustrate and commemorate the broad story of European discovery and exploration on the Northwest Coast of America.

The park now includes approximately 300 acres of the former military reservation of Fort Columbia, together with its coastal defense fortifications dating from 1896-1947. The park is largely forested, and its natural beauty is relatively untouched. A small museum, located in a barracks building, contains exhibits illustrating early exploration as well as regional history.

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PIKE'S PEAK, COLORADO

Location. West of Colorado Springs.

Ownership and Administration. Various Private.

Significance. One of the best known landmarks in the West, Pike's Peak was familiar to Indians and Spaniards long before its effective discovery by Zebulon M. Pike in 1806. Pike saw it from the plains as far east as present Las Animas, and estimated its elevation as 18,000 feet. Set forward from the front range of the Rockies, it in fact appears to rise much higher than its 14,110 feet.

Although 27 Colorado peaks are higher, Pike labeled it the "Highest Peak," a designation it retained on maps for 30 years. He tried to climb it but failed, and recorded his belief that no human would ever succeed. In 1820, however, Dr. Edwin James of the Long expedition attained the summit. Long named it James Peak, but trappers called it Pike's Peak and it was so labeled on a map prepared in 1835 by Col. Henry Dodge. For explorers, trappers, and gold-seekers of the Pike's Peak rush of 1859, it loomed as the most prominent of Rocky Mountain landmarks.

Present Status. Still a favorite western landmark, Pike's Peak, with nearby Colorado Springs, Manitou Springs, and the Garden of the Gods, each year draws thousands of visitors. An automobile road and a cog railway make the summit easily accessible. The ascent is amid impressive mountain scenery and the summit affords a spectacular panorama of the plains to the east.

References. Roger Toll, The Mountain Peaks of Colorado (Denver, 1923); John L. Hart, Fourteen Thousand Feet (Denver, 1931); H. Villard, Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Region (Princeton, 1932).

PIKE'S STOCKADE, COLORADO

Location. Conejos County, four miles by secondary road east of Sanford.

Ownership and Administration. State of Colorado, State Historical Society.

Significance. Zebulon M. Pike led the second official exploring expedition into the Louisiana Purchase. As an epic in the history of

American exploration, a contest of men against terrain and weather, and a service to geography, Pike's trek through the southern Rockies and the Spanish possessions ranks second only to the achievement of Lewis and Clark. The site of the stockade constructed on the Conejos River in Colorado's San Luis Valley best captures the essence of this historical episode. Of the three habitations that Pike built in Colorado, this possesses the greatest historical importance. Here he completed the purely exploratory part of his journey. Here his command verged on disaster. Here he determined the future course of the expedition by raising the American flag over Spanish soil. Here, finally, he was taken into custody by Spanish dragoons and escorted to Santa Fe. Of the three stockade sites, this retains a high degree of integrity while the other two, though identifiable, have been totally impaired by urban development.

Late in January 1807 Pike and 11 men straggled into the San Luis Valley after the terrible mid-winter crossing of the Sangre de Cristos. Two men had been left with the baggage in the stockade at the mouth of Royal Gorge. Two more had dropped out with frozen feet east of the mountains. Either to save his command from disaster or to insinuate himself into the Spanish possessions for the purpose of gathering intelligence, or both, Pike now decided to invite capture by Spanish authorities. While Dr. John H. Robinson set out for Santa Fe, ostensibly to collect a debt owed an Illinois merchant, Pike put his men to work on a rude fortification.



PIKE'S STOCKADE, Colorado. An excellent replica marks the site of Pike's fortification in the San Luis Valley. South of the Conejos River is the hill where Pike's lookouts watched for the approach of Spanish troops from Santa Fe.

National Park Service photo, 1960

The stockade he wrote in his journal under date of February 6⁷ was situated in a small prairie on the west fork Conejos River of the Rio Grande del Norte. The south flank joined the edge of the river, which at that place was not fordable; the east and west curtains were flanked by bastions in the northeast and northwest angles, which likewise flanked the curtain of the north side of the work. The stockade from the center of the angle of the bastions was 36 feet square. Heavy cottonwood logs, about two feet in diameter, were laid up all round about six feet; these logs were joined together by a lap of about two feet at each end. We then dug a small ditch on the inside all round, making it perpendicular on the internal side and sloping next the work. In this ditch we planted small stakes, about six inches in diameter, sharpened at the upper end to a nice point, and slanted them over the top of the work, giving them about 2 1/2 feet projection. We then secured them above and below in that position, which formed a small pointed frise, which must have been removed before the works could have been scaled. Lastly, we had dug a ditch round the whole, four feet wide, and let the water in all round. The earth taken out, being thrown against the work, formed an excellent rampart against small-arms, three or four feet high. Our mode of getting in was to crawl over the ditch on a plank, and into a small hole sunk below the level of the work near the river for that purpose. Our port-holes were pierced about eight feet from the ground, and a platform was prepared to shoot from. . . .¹

Formidable as he regarded his little fort, Pike of course had no intention of fighting. With the American flag waving from a staff in the center of the stockade, he busied himself reading, writing, and hunting. On a high hill across the river a lookout kept watch to the south. On February 26 a Spanish force of 59 dragoons and 50 provincial militia arrived. The Spanish lieutenant informed Pike that he was in Spanish territory and politely asked him to come to Santa Fe. Pike blustered a bit, lowered the flag,

1. Coues, Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, II, 497-98.

and, arranging for the absent members of the command to follow, headed south with the Spaniards.

Present Status. With the terrain description in Pike's journal and the testimony of old settlers to the existence at one time of surface remains, there can be no doubt of the site of Pike's Stockade. It is located in an attractive cottonwood grove on the west bank of the Conejos River. Across the stream the mesa used by Pike as a lookout rises to a height of about 350 feet and affords a panoramic view of the San Luis Valley. The State of Colorado has built a replica of the stockade that conforms closely to the specifications recorded by Pike. There are three exceptions: to insure permanence, oak instead of cottonwood logs were used; a concrete foundation was provided; and the tunnel by which the occupants entered has been constructed of concrete, with steps on the outside and inside. The stockade may also be entered by ladders. A wooden flagpole rises from the center of the compound. Now a State Park administered by the State Historical Society, the site is in immediate charge of a local rancher whose property lies adjacent to the area.

References. Elliott Coues (ed.), The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike (3 v., New York, 1895); Stephen H. Hart & Archer B. Hulbert (eds.), Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal (Denver, 1932); W. Eugene Hollon, The Lost Pathfinder--Zebulon Montgomery Pike (Norman, 1949); Site Investigation Reports on file in the Colorado State Historical Society, Denver.

FORT ATKINSON, NEBRASKA

Location. Washington County, Nebraska, about one mile east of town of Fort Calhoun.

Ownership and Administration. Private.

Significance. Fort Atkinson achieves importance under three themes of western history--exploration, the fur trade, and military and Indian affairs. While its outstanding significance in any one theme may be questioned, its prominent role in several important episodes of the frontier story makes it of exceptional value for illustrating and commemorating the history of western America. Fort Atkinson's association with the fur trade and the Indian barrier has already been treated in studies of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Here its part in the history of exploration will be considered.

As the direct descendant of Cantonment Missouri and Engineer Cantonment, it illustrates better than any other site the Long expedition of 1820. Gen. Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone Expedition, which never got to the Yellowstone, spent the winter of 1819-20 on the flats below Council Bluffs. The camp was named Cantonment Missouri. The scientific component of Atkinson's command, headed by Maj. Stephen H. Long, wintered at nearby Engineer Cantonment. When Congress destroyed the grandiose plans for exploring the Upper Missouri by drastically reducing Atkinson's finances, Major Long led a small party of technicians to explore the Rocky Mountains.



FORT ATKINSON, Nebraska. Archeologists of the Nebraska State Historical Society are currently excavating foundations of the military post from which several important explorations were launched.

Nebraska State Historical Society

The base from which the Long expedition was launched, Engineer Cantonment, was combined with Cantonment Missouri, which floods destroyed in the spring of 1820, and rebuilt above on Council Bluffs. Named Fort Atkinson, it served as a vital link in the chain of frontier defense, the northern bastion of the fur trade, and the center for administering Indian affairs of the Upper Missouri. Abandoned in 1827, it was replaced in the frontier defense system by Fort Leavenworth.

During its seven years of active service, Fort Atkinson played host to a number of important explorers. Among the pathfinders who launched exploration from the fort or returned to it from explorations were William H. Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Edward Rose, Hiram Scott, Jim Beckwourth, Jim Clyman, and Thomas Fitzpatrick.

Present Status. There are no surface remains of Fort Atkinson. The site has been exactly identified, however, and the Nebraska State Historical Society is currently excavating subsurface remains.

References. Edwin James, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, ed. by Reuben G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels Series, Vol. 14 (Cleveland, 1904-07); Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen (eds.), The Journal of Captain John R. Bell, Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820, Far West and Rockies Historical Series, VI (Glendale, 1957); Sally A. Johnson and Marvin F. Kivett, Fort Atkinson on the Council Bluffs, Reprint from Nebraska History, XL, 1 (March, 1959).

SOUTH PASS, WYOMING²

Location. State Highway 28, Fremont County.

2. South Pass is also recommended for classification of exceptional value in the study, "Overland Migrations West of the Mississippi River."

Ownership and Administration. Private

Significance. The only easy passage of the Rocky Mountains, South Pass has been aptly termed the "Gateway to the West" and the "Panama Canal of the central route." Its significance in western history is difficult to overrate. The effective discovery of South Pass changed the character and direction of the fur trade, and brought American trappers in large numbers to the central Rockies and the Great Basin. In the process they extended the territorial claims of the United States to the west and northwest, and headed off the advance of British trappers to the southeast. Discovery of South Pass also made possible the opening of a practicable wagon road to the Pacific, and therefore, wrote Charles L. Camp, "had a profound effect on the future of California and the Northwest--an effect perhaps commensurate in importance with the discovery of gold--for it was the use of this route by the emigrants that permitted the rapid settling and acquisition of Oregon, the early immigration to and subsequent conquest of California, and the settlement of Utah."³ For almost 50 years, though other trails came into use, the South Pass route was the way west.

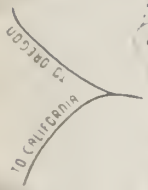
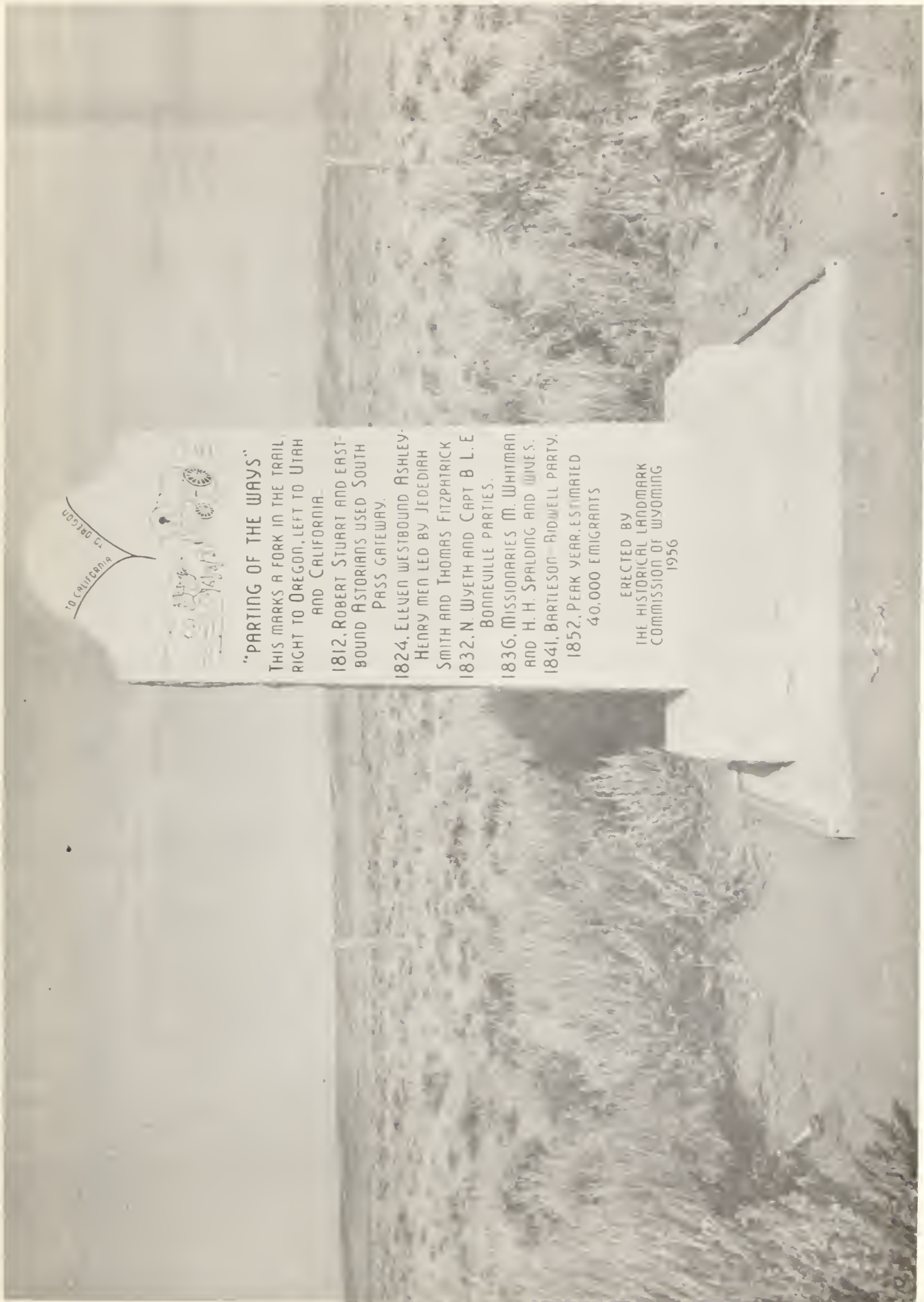
Historians still argue over whether Robert Stuart and the east-bound Astorians actually went through South Pass in 1811 or, misled by the confusing topography of the upper Sweetwater, crossed

3. "James Clyman: His Diaries and Reminiscences," California Historical Society Quarterly, IV, 2 (June, 1925), 128.

the continental divide a few miles to the south. The dispute really has only academic interest, for the fact remains that Stuart and his men were the first to pioneer the central or South Pass route that later became the Oregon Trail in whole and the California Trail in part. They thus demonstrated that the Rockies could be easily pierced south of the difficult passes charted by Lewis and Clark. The fact was soon forgotten, however, and South Pass had to be rediscovered over a decade later.

A party of William H. Ashley's trappers headed by Jedediah Smith learned about South Pass from the Crows of Wind River, and in February 1824 traversed it from east to west. This time the knowledge was not lost. Thomas Fitzpatrick wrote Ashley about the pass, and the news caused Ashley to change his entire pattern of operations. His northward advance, water-borne, had been slowed by Indian hostility. Now he threw all his effort to the west, by land, and reached the transmontaine beaver region, hitherto unexploited, by way of South Pass. After 1824 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers used the Indian trail through the pass in mounting numbers, and later guided the first emigrant trains through it. They had opened the highway to the Pacific.

Present Status. South Pass in no way conforms to the popular image of a mountain pass, which is one reason why the Astorians probably missed it altogether. Some 20 miles wide, it is flanked on the north by the Wind River Mountains, on the south by high



"PARTING OF THE WAYS"

THIS MARKS A FORK IN THE TRAIL
RIGHT TO OREGON, LEFT TO UTAH
AND CALIFORNIA

1812, ROBERT STUART AND EAST-
BOUND ASTORIANS USED SOUTH
PASS GATEWAY.

1824, ELEVEN WESTBOUND ASHLEY-
HENRY MEN LED BY JEDEDIAH

SMITH AND THOMAS FITZPATRICK
1832, N. WYETH AND CAPT B. L. E
BONNEVILLE PARTIES.

1836, MISSIONARIES M. WHITMAN
AND H. H. SPALDING AND WIVES.

1841, BARTLESON-BIDWELL PARTY.
1852, PEAK YEAR, ESTIMATED

40,000 EMIGRANTS

ERECTED BY
THE HISTORICAL LANDMARK
COMMISSION OF WYOMING
1956

SOUTH PASS, Wyoming. Discovered by the Astorians, rediscovered by Jedediah Smith, this easy passage through the Rocky Mountains profoundly influenced the direction of the westward movement.



SOUTH PASS, Wyoming. This view looks north along the continental divide to the Wind River Mountains.

National Park Service photo, 1960

barren hills. The continental divide cuts southeast across the pass, occupying the crests of rolling, sage-covered hills. The Sweetwater River, rising in the Wind River Range, flows south immediately east of the divide, then, just south of the bridge by which Highway 28 crosses it, turns abruptly east towards the Platte. The land is used almost exclusively for grazing sheep, and the historic setting therefore remains virtually unaltered. Extensive evidences of the Oregon and California Trails may still be seen. The state has fenced a generous stretch of trail ruts five miles west of the divide, where the road to Oregon diverged from the road to California, and erected two historical markers.

References. Philip A. Rollins (ed.), The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives (New York, 1935); Harrison C. Dale, "Did the Returning Astorians Use the South Pass?" Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, XVII (Portland, 1916), 47-51; id., The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Glendale, 1941); Dale L. Morgan, Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West (Indianapolis, 1953); Charles L. Camp (ed.), "James Clyman: His Diaries and Reminiscences," California Historical Society Quarterly, IV, 2 (June, 1925), 105-141.

SMITH MASSACRE SITE, OREGON

Location. Confluence of Smith and Umpqua Rivers, on U. S. Highway 101, .3 miles north of Reedsport, Oregon.

Ownership and Administration. Private.

Significance. In the summer of 1828, following his second historic journey to California, Jedediah Smith and 19 trappers, trailing a string of horses laden with furs, pushed north into

Oregon. On July 13 they camped at the forks of the Umpqua River. The next morning Smith and two men set out to blaze a trail for the day. Before the main group could break camp, Umpqua Indians opened a surprise attack. The trappers had no chance, and all but one were killed. The lone survivor later joined Smith and his two companions. They made their way to Fort Vancouver, where the Hudson's Bay Company's Dr. John McLoughlin helped Smith recover most of the furs stolen by the Indians.

This episode marked a critical point in the career of Jedediah Smith, one that determined the course of his life for the next year. It is also one of the few sites associated with him that can be precisely identified. It therefore appears the best to illustrate the significant contributions to western history of this remarkable man.

Present Status. The battlesite is located on the banks of the north fork of the Umpqua River, now appropriately named Smith River, near its confluence with the main branch. The area is still heavily forested, and looks very much as it did in 1828.

References. Lancaster Pollard, "Site of the Smith Massacre, July 14, 1828," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XIV (June, 1944); Dale L. Morgan, Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West (Indianapolis, 1953).

WALKER PASS, CALIFORNIA

Location. Kern County, State Highway 178.

Ownership and Administration. United States and private.

Significance. Joseph Reddeford Walker, famous mountain man, served as one of the chief guides of Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville's fur trapping expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1833. On July 24 Walker left the main party at Bonneville's fort on Green River and with 35 or 40 trappers started west to explore and trap the country beyond Great Salt Lake. After following the Humboldt River to its sink, they struck directly west across the Sierra Nevada, following a route that is still conjecture. Walker was thus the first American to cross the Sierra into California, Smith having crossed the mountains east-bound six years earlier. After reaching the coast and spending several months in Monterey, he led his party out of California in 1834. In the process he discovered the 5,248-foot-high pass that has since borne his name. In 1843 Walker led the first emigrant wagon train into California through this pass. Again, in 1845, he guided the main party of Frémont's third expedition into California by way of this pass. Walker Pass is one of the few sites associated with the mountain man that can be precisely identified.

Present Status. Walker Pass is located 60 miles northeast of Bakersfield, California, and may be reached by State Highway 178. This paved road follows the early emigrant route up the south fork of Kern River, passing through magnificent mountain countryside. The pass abuts on a portion of Sequoia National Forest and is relatively unimpaired.

References. Robert G. Cleland, A History of California: The American Period (New York, 1926); Washington Irving, Adventures of Captain Bonneville (rev. ed., New York, 1861); H. M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (2 v., Academic Reprints, Stanford, 1954); Allen Nevins, Fremont, Pathmarker of the West (New York, 1955).

OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

Historic sites discussed in this group were judged of sufficient importance to merit recognition but not of exceptional value when measured by the criteria reproduced in Appendix A.

COASTAL EXPLORATION

Chinook Point, Washington.

See page 52.

Cape Perpetua, Oregon.

An 800-foot-high rocky promontory, Cape Perpetua was sighted and named in March 1778 by the English explorer Capt. James Cook. His instructions did not permit close examination of the Oregon Coast, but as he sailed north he did name Capes Gregory (now Arago), Perpetua, and Foulweather. Now part of Siuslaw National Forest, Cape Perpetua is easily accessible by U. S. Highway 101, which winds up its rocky face. The land is heavily forested, but the highway and a parking area at the top afford a superb view of the Oregon Coast.

Cape Meares, Oregon.

The rocky headland of Cape Meares rises 700 feet from the ocean immediately south of Tillamook Bay. It may have been sighted by the Spanish navigator Capt. Bruno Heceta on August 17, 1775, but its effective discovery dates from the visit in July 1778 of the English captain and fur trader John Meares. He named the cape Lookout and the bay Quicksand. A month later the American Capt. Robert Gray crossed the bar and anchored the Lady Washington in the harbor. Ashore, his scurvy-ridden crew, seeking fresh fruit, game, and water, was attacked by Indians. Gray departed on August 18, naming the bay Murderers' Harbor.

The north side of the cape is wild and beautiful, with no encroachment other than an unobtrusive Coast Guard station. On the south side a collection of summer beach cottages spoils the natural setting.

Gray's Harbor, Washington.

This bay was discovered on May 7, 1792, by the American sea captain Robert Gray. He first named it Bulfinch Harbor, but later in the year changed it to Gray's Harbor. He anchored his ship Columbia in the harbor and traded with the Indians. On the 8th and 9th they unsuccessfully attacked the ship. On May 10 Gray left the bay and sailed south to make his great discovery of the Columbia River on the following day.

The ocean front is now heavily built up. Smoke from lumber mills and the city covers the entire bay area.

Point Grenville, Washington.

Rocky Point Grenville juts into the Pacific about 30 miles northwest of Aberdeen. Off this point in July 1775 the Spaniards Capt. Bruno Heceta and Capt. Juan Francisco de Bodega y Quadra anchored the Santiago and the Sonora. On the 14th Heceta landed at Point Grenville with part of his crew and, first Europeans to set foot on the soil of the Northwest Coast, took formal possession for Spain. At the same time Quadra anchored the Sonora at the mouth of the Hoh River 35 miles to the north. Seven men who went ashore for water were slaughtered by Indians. Quadra named the barren island near the spot Isla de Dolores, now called Destruction Island.

Point Grenville is located in the Quinault Indian Reservation. The forest, land, and coast are completely wild for five or six miles above and below the headland. A narrow paved road leads from the main highway through a heavy forest for about one-half mile to a Coast Guard station. Beyond, about 200 acres edging the cliffs are bare of trees. The cliffs are crumbling under pounding of the sea, and visitors are not permitted to move about without restriction.

Discovery Bay, Washington.

The Spaniard Alferez Quimper discovered this bay in the summer of 1790. Francisco de Eliza, another Spaniard, used it the following summer as a base of exploration. Capt. George Vancouver anchored here in 1792 and, mistakenly assuming that he was the first to visit the harbor, named it Discovery Bay. From here he set forth in longboats for a detailed exploration of Puget Sound.

PIKE

Cantonment Bellefontaine, Missouri.

First military post in the Louisiana Purchase, Bellefontaine was established by Gen. James Wilkinson on the south bank of the Missouri River just north of St. Louis in 1805. Here in the spring of 1806 Zebulon Pike outfitted his command and departed for the Rocky Mountains. During the summer of 1806 Wilkinson moved the post to the bluffs just above the cantonment site and made it a permanent installation. It was garrisoned until 1826, when replaced by Jefferson Barracks.

Now within the environs of St. Louis, the site lies at the end of Bellefontaine Road. It is occupied by Missouri Hills, the St. Louis Boys Training School. One stone building survives from the active period of the fort. The site of the temporary cantonment below has almost entirely washed into the river, although it has recently yielded some period artifacts.

Osage Villages, Missouri.

Escorting a party of Osage Indian captives to their homes in western Missouri, the Pike expedition reached the Osage Villages and the adjacent trading post of Manuel Lisa on August 19, 1806. The Osage Villages were located on the Little Osage River in present Vernon County, Missouri. Pike remained here for two weeks counciling and concluding a treaty with the Indians and determining position by astronomical observations. Having sold their boats to the Indians and bought horses, the expedition departed on September 4.

The Osage Village sites are now under cultivation, although surface indications of the lodges are apparent and artifacts have been excavated by University of Missouri archeologists.

Pike-Pawnee Villages, Kansas-Nebraska.

The Pike expedition reached the Pawnee Village on the Republican River on September 25, 1806. With all the martial display that his ragged band could muster, he met the Pawnee leaders, then pitched camp near the village. On the 29th he met in "grand council" with the Indians. The most interesting episode of the meeting arose over the matter of the Spanish flag. Wrote Pike: "The Spaniards had

left several of their flags in this village, one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council, and . . . amongst various demands and charges I gave them, was, that the said flag should be delivered to me and one of the United States' flags be received and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had so lately been a large force of Spanish cavalry at the village, which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, etc., which my appearance with twenty infantry was by no means calculated to remove. After the chiefs had replied to various parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, adding that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge their American Father. After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag and brought it and laid it at my feet, and then received the American flag and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic Majesty. . . . Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great calamity was about to befall them, I took up the contested colors and told them that as they had now shown themselves dutiful children in acknowledging their great American Father, I did not wish to embarrass them with the Spaniards, for it was the wish of the Americans that their red brethren should remain peaceably around their own fires and not embroil themselves in any disputes between the white people; and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again I returned them their flag, but with an injunction that it should never be hoisted during our stay. At this there was a general shout of applause. . . ."⁴ The Pawnees tried by persuasion and mild threat to discourage Pike from continuing his journey, but putting on a bold front he marched south for the Arkansas on October 9.

Identity of the Pawnee Village where Pike replaced the Spanish with the American flag continues to be a matter of conjecture and dispute. There are two major contenders--the Kansas Monument Site, one and one-half miles west and one mile south of Republic, Kansas, on the south bank of the Republican River; and, some 30 miles to the northwest, the Hill Site, seven miles east and two miles south of Red Cloud, Webster County, Nebraska. Neither of these sites had been studied when Dr. Elliott Coues, leading authority on Pike and

4. Coues, Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, II, 414-16.

editor of his journals, in 1895 confessed his inability to fix the location of the Pawnee Village.

In 1896 the Kansas State Historical Society appointed a commission to study the Kansas site. Working with the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, the commissioners conducted a thorough documentary and field study. They concluded that the Kansas site was indeed the one visited by Pike, a conclusion with which Dr. Coues expressed tentative agreement. In 1901 the Kansas Legislature appropriated \$3,000 to mark the site, and a granite shaft was dedicated in September 1901. Now a Kansas State Park, the site occupies about ten acres on the bluffs overlooking the Republican River. Evidences of 25 lodge circles are clearly visible, together with remains of about 15 or 18 caches and a rampart about 150 yards long. Although the site has never been excavated, surface finds leave no doubt that it was in fact a Pawnee village.

In 1923 A. T. Hill found the Pawnee site near Red Cloud, Nebraska, that has taken his name. After thorough documentary research and field reconnaissance, he and members of the Nebraska Historical Society pronounced in favor of it as the one visited by Pike. The case for this site was set forth, together with a rebuttal by the Kansas Historical Society, in the Nebraska History Magazine. Chiefly on the basis of descriptions by Pike and Wilkinson of the village and its surrounding topography, the Nebraskans advanced a far more convincing argument than did the Kansans.

During the 1930's Waldo Wedel carried out extensive archeological investigations in Kansas and Nebraska. His studies led him to assert, after carefully comparing the two sites with the evidence, that "one is forced to the conclusion that the Hill site is in all probability the scene of Pike's visit to the Pawnee in 1806." Now under cultivation, this site affords no visible surface remains, and has therefore suffered serious loss of integrity.

As the site of events of considerable significance in the history of the Pike expedition, the Pawnee Village would merit serious consideration for classification as exceptionally valuable. However, inasmuch as no definitive conclusion can as yet be pronounced on its exact location, and as the Hill site retains no integrity, it must at present be regarded as a lost site.⁵

5. The controversy is fully ventilated in the following sources: "Kansas and the Flag: Dedication of a Monument Marking the Site of Pike's Pawnee Village," (including article by Elias B. Cowgill,

Pike Stockade No. 1, Colorado.

On November 24, 1806, Pike reached the junction of Fountain Creek with the Arkansas. A short distance above the mouth of the creek he set his men to work on a rude log breastwork, five feet high on three sides and with the fourth side opening on the river. While the men worked, Pike and Dr. Robinson with two privates set out to climb Pike's Peak. The project proved more formidable than expected, and three days later, the 27th, he had not even reached the base of the peak. Concluding that "no human being could have ascended its pinnacle," he turned back to the stockade. The four men were back by the 29th. Next day the expedition abandoned the stockade and marched up the Arkansas.

Pike's charts show the fort on the south bank of the Arkansas on a tongue of land almost enclosed by the first bend in the river above Fountain Creek. All vestiges of the fortification had disappeared by 1820, when Long visited the site. The river has since changed its course, and the city of Pueblo has obliterated the site. Archer Hulbert fixes the exact location as on Santa Fe Avenue near the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad crossing.

Pike's Peak, Colorado.

See page 55.

Trout Creek Pass, Colorado.

Pike crossed from South Park and the headwaters of the South Platte to the valley of the upper Arkansas, which he took for the Red, by way of Trout Creek Pass. A gentle ascent on the east, it descends to the Arkansas via Trout Creek much more precipitously. U. S. Highways 24 and 285 today use this route, but otherwise the scene has changed little since Pike's day.

Christmas Camp, Colorado.

Descending the Arkansas, which Pike still supposed the Red, the expedition had little food left. The day before Christmas 1806, however, the hunters found buffalo and laid in a good supply

(cont.) "Where Was the Pawnee Republic?", Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, VII (Topeka, 1902), 261-317; article by A. T. Hill, Frank J. Munday, and George P. Morehouse in Nebraska History Magazine, X, 3 (July-September, 1927), 159-261; Waldo R. Wedel, An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology, Bureau of Ethnology, Bull, 112 (Washington, 1936).

of meat. The men spent Christmas eve and all day Christmas feasting, resting, and drying the meat. Pike's charts reveal that this camp was located on the left bank of the Arkansas just below the mouth of Squaw Creek and just north of present Salida. This area today is rather heavily covered with farm houses and cultivated fields, hence retains little integrity.

Pike Stockade No. 2, Colorado.

On December 5, 1806, the Pike expedition made camp on the Arkansas at the mouth of Royal Gorge. While parties went in different directions in search of the trail of Lt. Don Facundo Malgares and the Spanish dragoons who had been hunting the Americans, Pike and Dr. Robinson explored the lower part of Royal Gorge. On the 10th the explorers marched north towards South Park. Ultimately they crossed into the Arkansas valley again. Pike thought he had found the Red, but its course brought him once more to Royal Gorge. On January 9, 1807, he camped again at the mouth of the Gorge, and on the north bank built another stockade to house much of his baggage while he set out on January 14 to cross the Sangre de Cristos. After his capture the two men were sent for and the stockade abandoned.

Pike's charts reveal the location of the stockade, although all traces of it have disappeared. According to Hulbert, "This site is clearly defined in its connection with a prominent ridge by which it can be fixed with some precision. This is the sandstone ridge which runs north and south just east of Sand Creek. This the chart shows unmistakably--the ridge, the valley on the other side and the two heights, Fremont's and Noonan's Peaks. The block-house erected here on the return journey from South Park stood on the east tip of the ridge, where it abuts the north bank of the river just south of the State Penitentiary."⁶ A historical marker beside U. S. Highway 50 on the west edge of Canon City now denotes the location.

Medano Pass, Colorado.

Pike and his frozen, starving followers surmounted the Sangre de Cristo Range in January 1807 by way of Medano (Sandhill) Pass and dropped into the San Luis Valley by way of Medano Creek, which skirts the Great Sand Dunes on the south. The pass thus brought him to the San Luis Valley and his encounter with the Spanish. Only a jeep trail

6. Hart and Hulbert, Pike's Arkansas Journal, 134.

goes through the pass today, and the scene thus looks much as it did in 1807. Pike's route down Medano Creek is now within the boundaries of Great Sand Dunes National Monument.

Pike Stockade No. 3, Colorado.

See page 56.

COLTER

Fort Raymond, Montana.

Fort Raymond, fur trading post of Manuel Lisa at the mouth of the Bighorn River, was important in the history of exploration as the base for the wanderings of John Colter, Edward Rose, and George Drouillard. Lisa's expedition reached the site in October 1807 and immediately began construction of a log trading house, which consisted of two rooms and a loft. Colter began his historic trek to the Wind River Mountains and Snake country soon after the brigade arrived, and returned the following spring. The trading house was used all winter, but in the spring of 1808 a more elaborate stockaded fort was begun. It served as a center for trading operations until about 1811.

A number of other fur posts occupied the same location in subsequent years. The exact sites have never been determined. The configuration of the terrain, however, is such that the right bank of the Bighorn at its confluence with the Yellowstone offered the most feasible and logical location. This area today is largely under cultivation and dotted with farm houses, but it is probable that extensive documentary and field study would pinpoint the site not only of Lisa's fort but also of its successors.

Colter's Hell, Wyoming.

Washington Irving, writing the Adventures of Captain Bonneville, first put in print the "legend" of Colter's Hell, which trappers had talked about since 1808. It "was discovered by Colter . . . who came upon it in the course of his lonely wanderings, and gave such an account of its gloomy terrors, its hidden fires, smoking pits, noxious streams, and the all-pervading 'smell of brimstone,' that it received, and has ever since retained among the trappers, the name of 'Colter's Hell!'" Although the historian of Yellowstone Park, H. M. Chittenden, applied the term to, and made Colter discoverer of, the geysers of Yellowstone Park, the evidence clearly points to another area of thermal activity

as the true Colter's Hell. It lies below the mouth of Shoshone Canyon (where a dam creates a reservoir west of the canyon) and the forks of the Shoshone River (once called the Stinking Water). Colter described to other trappers the boiling springs, geysers, tar springs, and sulphur-covered ground that characterized the area. It is no longer thermally active, but geological evidence attests to considerable activity in Colter's day. The banks of the Shoshone between the canyon and Cody still display considerable evidence of the dead geysers. The ground is discolored by sulphur, and the odor of sulphur is still noticeably present.

ASTORIANS

Arikara Villages, South Dakota.

The two villages of the Arikaras, located on the west bank of the Missouri River about nine miles above the mouth of the Grand, were the scene of important episodes in the history of exploration and the fur trade. Lewis and Clark stopped here in 1804, and in 1811 the Astorians turned west from the Missouri and struck overland after visiting the villages. This was the scene also of the celebrated battle in 1823 between the Arikaras and William H. Ashley's trappers. In retaliation, Gen. Henry Leavenworth led some 1,000 trappers, soldiers, and Sioux allies against the Arikaras. Although inconclusive, the battle caused the Arikaras to abandon their villages and move upstream. Outlines of the earthlodges may still be seen, but the sites will be flooded after construction of the Oahe Dam.

Union Pass, Wyoming.

Strategic pass across the continental divide in the Wind River Mountains, Union Pass was discovered by Wilson Price Hunt's west-bound Astorians, who reached the summit on September 16, 1811. From the top they could see the Grand Tetons to the west, and, descending to the head of Green River, turned towards Teton Pass to cross to Henry's Fork of the Snake. In the winter of 1824-25 Jedediah Smith's party tried to cross to the Green by Union Pass, but heavy snow forced him to turn back and thus led to the rediscovery of South Pass. Fur trappers continued to use Union Pass, but after 1824 most overland traffic went through South Pass. Union Pass did not receive its name until 1860, when the topographical expedition of Capt. W. F. Reynolds crossed the Wind River Mountains here. No highway traverses the pass today, and its wilderness character thus remains virtually undisturbed.

Teton Pass, Wyoming.

One of two passes through the Grand Tetons, Teton Pass was the favorite of travelers. John Colter was the first white man to use it, crossing to Pierre's Hole in the winter of 1807-08. Hunt's west-bound Astorians surmounted it in 1811, and Stuart's east bound Astorians the following year. During the fur trade era it became a popular route for trappers journeying between Jackson Hole and Pierre's Hole. State Highway 22 today crosses the mountains here, affording the motorist impressive scenery and a spectacular view of Jackson Hole.

Henry's Fort, Idaho.

Andrew Henry and a party of Manuel Lisa's fur trappers built this post on Henry's Fork of the Snake River in the fall of 1810. Hostile Indians and aggressive grizzlies forced its abandonment in the spring of 1811. On October 8, 1811, Hunt's west-bound Astorians reached "the fort of Mr. Andrew Henry" consisting of "several small buildings." Hunt thought he could continue by water to the mouth of the Columbia and spent 11 days at Henry's Fort hollowing out cottonwood logs for canoes. They trapped some of the nearby streams, and visited with Snake Indians. On the 19th they loaded the cargo and embarked on Henry's Fork, leaving their saddles in cache and entrusting their 72 horses to the care of two young Snake Indians.

As the scene of a decision that had disastrous consequences, Henry's Fort looms as a site of considerable importance in the story of Hunt's Astorians. The site, however, retains little integrity. Farming has destroyed all but a small plot of ground where a monument marks the site of the fort. It is located five miles southeast of St. Anthony.

Caldron Linn, Idaho.

At Caldron Linn Hunt's west-bound Astorians, now water-borne, met disaster. Rollins described it as it was in Hunt's day: "Immediately above the linn the Snake River, with its current's forcefulness increased by an abrupt converging of its canyon walls, plunged over Dry Creek Falls. At the foot of these falls, turning sharply to the left, it dashed into a whirlpool that had no outlet other than a vertical slit which, except for the flare at the top, was hardly more than 40 feet in width. Through this slit roared the entire river, titanic in its possession of melted snows from a

thousand mountains. The whirlpool and its awesome portals were Caldron Linn."⁷ Five boats were wrecked and one man drowned before Hunt was forced to give up the idea of continuing by water. The Astorians thus had to make their way to the destination on foot.

The site lies at the foot of Dry Creek Falls in the town of Murtaugh, Idaho. Caldron Linn and the series of falls along the Snake in the area are now placid compared to their character in 1811. Irrigating and power dams and canals have drastically reduced the flow of the Snake and thereby impaired the historic setting.

Astoria, Oregon.

John Jacob Astor's fur trading post at the mouth of the Columbia was the destination of Hunt's west-bound Astorians and the point of departure for Stuart's east-bound Astorians. Today surrounded by the city of Astoria, the site features a replica blockhouse and an explanatory sign. (Astoria is more fully treated, and recommended for classification, in the study of the Fur Trade.)

Astorians' Winter Camp No. 1, Wyoming.

On November 1, 1812 the Robert Stuart party of east-bound Astorians crossed to the right bank of the Platte near the mouth of the Sweetwater and traveled 12 miles to a stream (Bates Creek) they named Cottonwood Creek. Six miles farther they came to a "considerable mountain"--Red Buttes--"through which the River ran 4 miles, when the Country opening, it made a large bend to the north, to the lower end of which we went in 2 more and encamped in a beautiful bottom of Cottonwoods surrounded with a thick growth of common willow." As snow had begun to fall, announcing the approach of winter, they decided to establish winter quarters here and continue to St. Louis in the spring. On November 10, having laid in a supply of buffalo meat, they built a log cabin. A month later, December 10, a war-party of 23 Arapahoes returning from a raid on the Crows put in an appearance. They stayed around for a day stuffing themselves with the white man's meat, then departed. Suspicious that the Indians were up to something, Stuart decided

7. Philip A. Rollins (ed.), The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives (New York, 1935), 122, note 64.

that the now-discovered winter camp was untenable, and on December 13 abandoned the hut and headed down the Platte.

Philip A. Rollins, editor of Stuart's narrative, places this camp on the right bank of the North Platte at a spot one mile below where Poison Spider Creek empties into the Platte from the north. "The spot is readily identifiable today because (a) Poison Spider Creek--from which Stuart measured his mile--is, at its mouth and for some distance inland, flanked on each side by a geologic dike and thus cannot have shifted its position since Stuart's time; and (b) there is now, on the North Platte's right bank one mile below Poison Spider Creek's mouth, a grove which patently antedates Stuart's visit inasmuch as, in 1929, a bit of exploratory digging amid the trees disclosed fragments of very old stumps and roots that clearly were in original situ and thereby furnished evidence that the local topography had not materially altered since Stuart's day."⁸ The local scene has not changed appreciably since 1929. Several ranch buildings are now hidden among the trees, but otherwise the site is unimpaired. It lies near a paved road 1.5 miles north of its junction with State 220 at the hamlet of Goose Egg.

Astorians' Winter Camp No. 2, Wyoming.

Having abandoned their first winter camp because Indians had discovered it, Robert Stuart's east-bound Astorians moved on down the Platte. On December 31, 1812, "At an early hour we crossed to the left bank of the Platte river, which was running thick with Ice took up our residence close to the bank and by the middle of the day we had a shelter made and our meat scaffolded--Began building our Hut, one side of which we raised before dusk." On January 19, 1813 they finished and moved into the hut. Also they felled trees and began hollowing them out to make canoes. On March 8, the weather moderating, they left winter quarters in the home-made boats, which very shortly demonstrated the difficulties in navigating the Platte and forced them to walk the rest of the way to the Missouri.

The camp was approximately on the site of the camp of December 23, in Wyoming and not, as some historians have contended, in Nebraska. It was located on the left bank of the North Platte approximately two miles below Torrington. The valley here is

8. Ibid., 200-201, note 28.

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cultivated, but the river banks, with park-like groves of cottonwoods, remain relatively unchanged.

LONG

Fort Atkinson, Nebraska.

See page 60.

Loup Pawnee Villages, Nebraska.

The Long expedition reached the first of the Pawnee villages on June 11, 1820. He advanced displaying an American flag and a white flag with a design of a sword and warpipe together with white and red hands shaking. Long Hair and other leading men were engaged in a medicine-feast, and did not leave it to welcome the whites. Long was much offended, and after waiting a couple of hours moved about a mile from the village and set up camp. Late in the afternoon Long Hair and his chiefs visited this camp. They tried to discourage the whites from continuing the journey. Long questioned the chiefs about the character of the country to the west, and tried unsuccessfully to induce the Indians to submit to smallpox vaccination. Early June 12 the expedition moved up the river about four miles to the second village. Like the first, it consisted of about 40 lodges, 1,000 people. Long and the scientists counceled for a time with the chief, Fool Robe, then moved on to the third village, another four miles west. Its chief, Knife Chief, met them enroute. He conducted Long to his lodge and feasted him on boiled corn. Bell estimated this village at 140 lodges and thought its appearance much superior to the other villages. The expedition crossed the river and returned to the Platte Valley on June 14.

Investigated by Waldo Wedel in the 1930's, these Pawnee sites are known to archeologists as the Palmer, Cottonwood Creek, and Horse Creek sites, all on the north side of the Loup River in eastern Nebraska. The Palmer site is four miles north and a mile west of Palmer, the Cottonwood Creek site four miles north and two miles east of Palmer, and the Horse Creek site nine miles southwest of Fullerton just below the mouth of Horse Creek. All are under cultivation and most surface traces of the villages have been obliterated.

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Long's Peak, Colorado.

As a Rocky Mountain landmark, Long's Peak ranks second only to Pike's Peak. Rising to an elevation of 14,255 feet, it dominates a profusion of towering peaks surrounding it. Major Long sighted the mountain from the plains 100 miles to the east and, as Pike had with Pike's Peak farther south, labeled it the "Highest Peak." It later took Long's name and today recalls the exploration for which he became famous. The central feature of Rocky Mountain National Park, its summit may be reached by a foot trail that winds amid spectacular mountain scenery.

SMITH

South Pass, Wyoming.

See page 61.

Smith Massacre Site, Oregon.

See page 64.

Cache Valley Rendezvous Site, Utah.

Initial point of Jedediah Smith's first journey to California, Cache Valley, northeast of Great Salt Lake, was the location of the 1826 rendezvous of free and company trappers. Here William H. Ashley sold out to Smith, Jackson and Sublette. In August the new partner and 14 men faced south to begin the historic trek to the Pacific.

The exact site of this rendezvous has not been identified. It lies on Blacksmith Fork in Cache Valley, probably between the towns of Hiram and Logan. The valley is now thickly populated and extensively cultivated, and the character of the site has therefore changed materially.

Mojave Villages, Arizona-California.

Jedediah Smith visited the Mojave Villages on both his first and second trips to California, 1826 and 1827. On the second the Indians proved hostile. They attacked Smith, killed nine men, and got away with all the stock. The trappers had to make their way

across the Mojave Desert on foot. The previous autumn, 1826, the Young-Pattie party, trapping out of Taos, also had trouble with the Mojaves, who killed five men.

Archeologists have located numerous Mojave sites on both sides of the Colorado River. They occupy a belt extending from just north of Needles, California, to Topock, Arizona, a distance of about 20 miles. It is impossible to know which ones were occupied during the time of Smith, Young, and Pattie.

Cajon Pass, California.

Father Francisco Garcés, Spanish priest and explorer, was the first white man to cross the San Bernardino Mountains to the Pacific Coast. Jedediah Smith was the first American. Recent studies suggest that the route used by both did not lead directly through Cajon Pass. They were guided by Mojave Indians whose trail crossed the mountains eight miles east of the pass. Dale Morgan, however, believes that Smith used Cajon Pass on his second trip to California, in August 1827.

A major super-highway, U. S. 60, now crosses the mountains by way of Cajon Pass. The area is heavily covered with housing and commercial development, and has thus lost its historic appearance.

Bear Lake Rendezvous Site, Utah.

Both the third and fourth rendezvous of fur trappers, 1827 and 1828, were staged on the south shore of Bear Lake, northeast of Great Salt Lake. The 1827 rendezvous had just got underway in July when Jedediah Smith arrived, completing his journey of exploration and discovery to California. Today the lake, valley, and surrounding mountains present an almost unchanged appearance, but farming operations and the hamlet of Laketown have somewhat impaired the setting of the actual site.

WALKER

Walker Pass, California.

See page 65.

Fort Bonneville, Wyoming.

Fort Bonneville, headquarters of Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville's ill-fated venture in the fur trade, was built in 1832 on Horse Creek five miles above its junction with the Green, the heart of the fur country. A log stockade with palisade walls and flanking bastions at two diagonal corners, it was named by veteran trappers Fort Nonsense or Bonneville's Folly. It was the base from which Joseph Reddeford Walker launched his expedition across the Great Basin and the Sierras in 1833-34.

The site of the fort lies on a narrow tongue of flat, sage-covered land between Horse Creek and Green River. Except for a fence and a nearby farm, screened from view by vegetation, the setting is unimpaired. A stone monument, on the north side of the Horse Creek road, marks the site.

FREMONT

Frémont Disaster Site, Colorado.

Frémont's ill-fated fourth expedition was undertaken in mid-winter of 1848-49 in the cause of Senator Thomas Hart Benton's "Great Central Path," along which he hoped the Pacific Railroad would be built. Frémont's objective was to prove the feasibility of this route by traveling it in the winter months. The party reached the San Luis Valley in December and attacked the San Juan Mountains, to the west, during one of the most severe winter seasons on record. Controversy and mystery surround the decision to cross the mountains via the Rio Grande headwaters rather than the more eligible Cochetopa Pass, about 30 miles to the north. Both Frémont and his guide, Old Bill Williams, have found vigorous partisans.

West of present Monte Vista, on the Rio Grande, the party turned north into the Garita Mountains, through which there is no pass. Ascending La Garita Creek, the men topped the main ridge. Apalling hardship amid constant snowstorms had almost destroyed the expedition, and just beyond the crest they found it impossible to go farther, and indeed of doubtful possibility to turn back. At this campsite the decision to retreat was made. At a second camp, east of the divide, Frémont sent volunteers in advance to Taos for help, but they did not make it. From here the rest descended Embargo Creek to the Rio Grande. Eleven men froze to death before the survivors, emaciated wrecks, staggered into Taos.

Frank Spencer in 1929 located the sites of the two camps that altered the course of the expedition. They tallied in every respect with Frémont's descriptions, and exhibited supporting evidence in the form of abundant mule bones, a few artifacts, and trees cut 18 feet above the ground, the approximate snow level of 1848. The camp where Frémont decided to turn back is on the west side of the Garita Mountains divide at the head of Wanamaker Creek, a tributary of the Saguache. The camp where volunteers were selected to go in advance for help lies just east of the divide in a grove next to the head of Embargo Creek. It is a few hundred feet from the head of Garita Creek, by which the expedition ascended the ridge. Still difficult of access, the setting is unimpaired.

Cochetopa Pass, Colorado.

One of the best known passes across the continental divide in the southern Rockies, Cochetopa Pass earned wide publicity in the pre-Civil War controversy over the route of the proposed Pacific Railroad. The voluble Senator Thomas Hart Benton, champion of St. Louis interests, promoted a "Great Central Path" that would originate at St. Louis and span the continent along the 39th parallel, surmounting the continental divide at Cochetopa Pass. The Pacific Railroad Survey assigned Capt. John W. Gunnison to investigate this route, and his party used the pass in the summer of 1853. The same summer a privately financed expedition, dispatched by the St. Louis promoters and led by Edward F. Beale, also examined Cochetopa Pass. Benton's son-in-law, John C. Frémont, surveyed the pass the following winter during his fifth and final expedition, which was undertaken to prove the feasibility of Benton's route by following it in mid-winter. But the Great Central Path turned out to offer the least practicable route, and a railroad was never put through Cochetopa Pass.

A graded state highway, 114, crosses the continental divide at Cochetopa Pass. Otherwise, there has been no material change in the natural setting. A historical marker at the summit identifies the site with some explanation.

Gunnison Massacre Site, Utah.

Capt. John W. Gunnison's Pacific Railroad Survey party was assigned the central route favored by St. Louis interests. The small corps of scientists and their military escort left Westport on June 23, 1853. Their march took them west on the Santa Fe Trail,

across the front range of the Rockies into the San Luis Valley, and across the continental divide via Cochetopa Pass. On October 25, while exploring Utah's Sevier Lake, Gunnison, four scientists, and seven soldiers were massacred by Paiute Indians. Lt. E. G. Beckwith, second in command, carried the survey on across the Great Basin and Sierra Nevada to the Pacific. A stone monument three miles west of Deseret marks the site of the massacre.

POWELL

Lodore Canyon, Colorado.

In Lodore Canyon of Green River the Powell expedition on June 7, 1869 lost a boat to raging rapids. With the boat went precious food stores. Dwindling rations later had serious consequences, forcing the expedition to neglect important explorations and contributing to the sense of alarm that led to breakup of the party at Separation Rapids. Now part of Dinosaur National Monument, Lodore Canyon retains all the scenic grandeur that characterized it in Powell's time.

Glen Canyon, Utah-Arizona.

The calm waters of Glen Canyon afforded Powell's men respite from the rapids and falls of other canyons. In Powell's later survey, 1871, several members of the expedition carved their names in the sandstone walls of Music Temple. They are still legible-- F. M. Bishop, J. K. Hillers, F. S. Dellenbaugh, C. Powell. Although Glen Canyon will be flooded upon completion of Glen Canyon Dam, plans have been made to cut the inscriptions from the rock for museum display.

Separation Rapids, Arizona.

At Separation Rapids in Grand Canyon the Powell expedition fell apart. Seneca and O. G. Howland and William H. Dunn believed that an attempt to run the rapids would destroy the expedition. They left the main party on August 28, 1869, and made their way up a lateral canyon to the Kaibab Plateau, hoping to reach the Mormon settlements on foot. Near Mount Dellenbaugh Shivwits Indians murdered them. Powell and the rest of the men successfully ran Separation Rapids and on August 30 emerged from the canyon at Grand Wash Cliffs.

Separation Rapids is now included within the boundaries of Lake Meade National Recreation Area. It is located just below the site of the proposed Bridge Canyon Dam, in the vicinity of Separation Canyon. Because of Hoover Dam and Lake Meade the rapids have been submerged.



POINT GRENVILLE, Washington. The first European to set foot on the Northwest Coast, Capt. Bruno Heceta, landed here on July 14, 1775, and took formal possession for Spain.

National Park Service photo, 1960



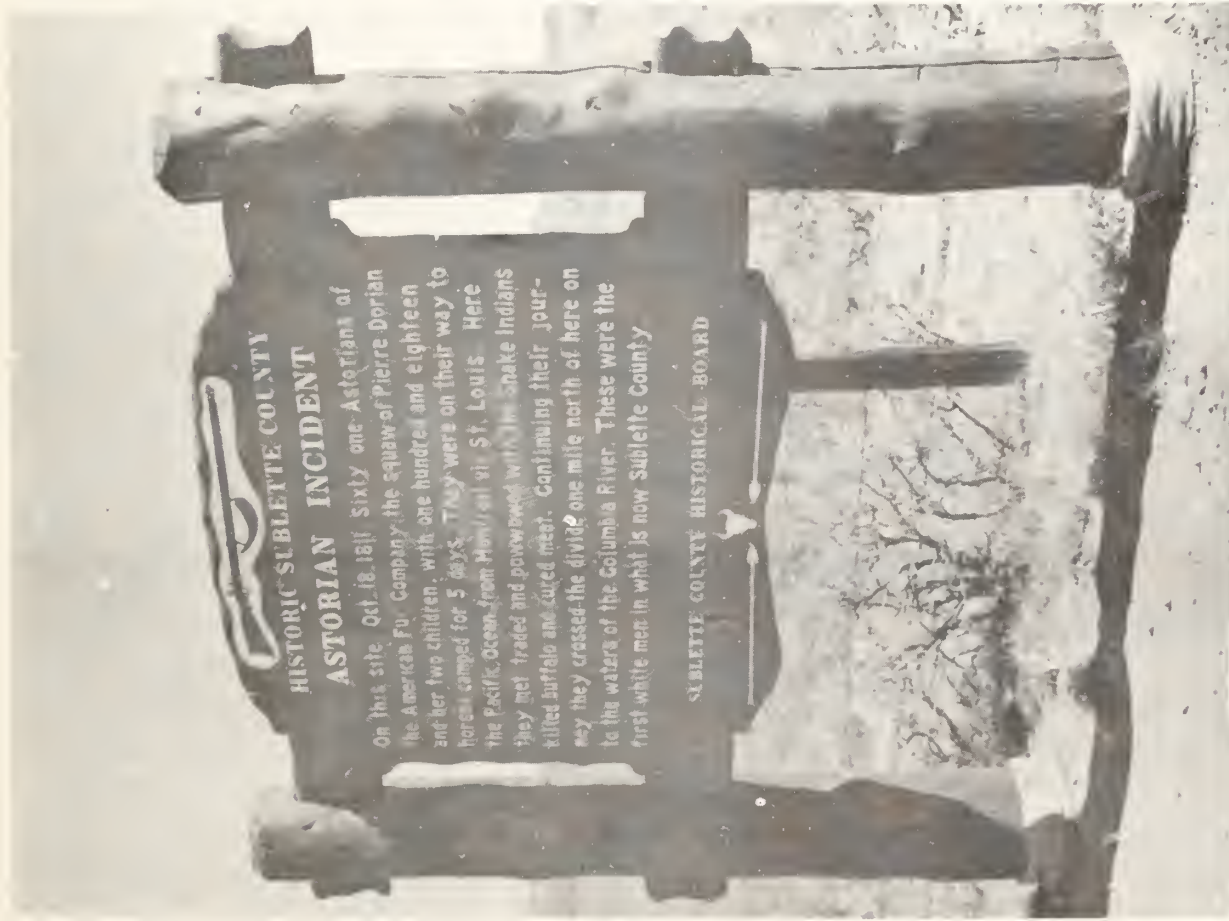
CAPE MEARES, Oregon. In 1788 Capt. John Meares discovered the rocky headland that shelters Tillamook Bay.

National Park Service photo, 1960



PIKE-PAWNEE PARK, Kansas. Kansas claims this as the site of the Pike-Pawnee Village. Nebraskans advance a better case for a site in Nebraska, but it has been destroyed by cultivation.

National Park Service photo, 1960



Many western states have erected attractive and informative signs to explain their history to passing motorists.



National Park Service photos, 1960



COCHETOPA PASS, Colorado, was advanced by St. Louis interests as the best way for the Pacific Railroad to cross the continental divide. This view looks east towards the Garita Mountains, scene of Frémont's disaster in 1848.

National Park Service photo, 1960



MEDANO PASS (right) and GREAT SAND DUNES, Colorado. The Pike expedition crossed the Sangre de Cristos by way of Medano Pass and dropped into the San Luis Valley south of the Great Sand Dunes. View looks northeast. National Park Service photo, 1960.



TROUT CREEK PASS, Colorado. Pike left South Park (background) by way of Trout Creek Pass and entered the Arkansas River Valley. View looks east. National Park Service photo, 1960.



FORT RAYMOND, Montana. Somewhere in this valley, at the confluence of the Bighorn and Yellowstone Rivers, Manuel Lisa built the fur trading post from which John Colter in 1807-08 explored the Yellowstone Park region. National Park Service photo, 1960.



FORT BONNEVILLE, Wyoming. This stone monument on a tongue of land between Horse Creek and Green River marks the site of the fur outpost from which Joseph Reddeford Walker in 1833 launched his expedition to California. National Park Service photo, 1960.



COLTER'S HELL, Wyoming. Discolored soil and sulphurous odor characterize the area, now thermally inactive, that mountain men named after its discoverer, John Colter. View looks west up Shoshone River to mouth of Shoshone Canyon.

National Park Service photo, 1960



TETON PASS, Wyoming. Colter and the Astorians used this pass through the Teton Mountains. View looks east into Jackson Hole, heartland of the fur trade.

National Park Service photo, 1960



HENRY'S FORT, Idaho. Here Hunt's Astorians made the fateful decision to abandon their horses and take to water. National Park Service photo, 1958



ASTORIA, Oregon. John Jacob Astor's outpost of fur empire was the destination of the west-bound Astorians and the point of departure of the east-bound Astorians. A partial reconstruction now marks the site. National Park Service photo, 1958.

SITES ALSO NOTED

Arizona

Grand Wash Cliffs (Powell)
Papago Village (Young-Pattie)
Pima Villages (Pacific Railroad Surveys)
Parke Campsite, Apache Pass (Pacific Railroad Surveys)

California

Ebbetts Pass (Smith)
Hawk's (or Frémont) Peak
San Gabriel Mission (Smith)
Tehachapi Pass

Colorado

Fort St. Vrain
Fort Lupton
Bent's Fort
Sangre de Cristo Pass
Mosca Pass

Idaho

Twin Peaks

Montana

Flathead House (Ogden)
Henry's Fort

Nevada

Carson Sink (Walker)

New Mexico

Taos
Santa Rita Copper Mines (Pattie)

Oregon

Frémont Campsite (Klamath Lake)

Washington

Spokane House
Fort Walla Walla (Nez Perce)
Vancouver Point
Fort Vancouver

Wyoming

Fort Laramie
Green River (Powell)
Frémont Peak

APPENDIX

Criteria of Exceptional Value

1. Structures or sites at which occurred events that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which best represent, the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event which best represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. Every historical and archeological site and structure to meet the standards of exceptional value should have integrity, that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material, or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.



GREAT EXPLORERS OF THE WEST
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

